

A BRIEF
ACCOUNT

From the most Authentic
Protestant Writers
OF THE
CAUSES, MOTIVES, and MISCHIEFS,
OF THE

Irish Rebellion,

ON

The 23d Day of *October* 1641,

K Deliver'd in a DIALOGUE between a
Dissenter, and a *Member* of the Church
of *Ireland*, as by Law Established.

Together with an

A P P E N D I X,
CONTAINING

A Remonstrance of the Gen-
try, and Commonality of
the County of *Cavan*, Wri-
ten by Bishop *Bedell* in
1641.

Mr. *Howell's* Account of
the Causes of this Rebellion.

Extract of the Brief Narrative

of the same publish'd in
1660 by the *Irish* Paipsts.
A Collection of some of the
Massacres committed on the
Irish therein: And a Rela-
tion of the Massacre of
Glenco.

Satis firmum est, ad probandam veritatem, Testimonium,
quod ab ipsis perhibetur Inimicis. Lactant.

L O N D O N: Printed in the Year, 1747.

ACCOUNT

Protestant Writers

OF THE

Great Northern and Western

OTHS

Irish Rebellion



of Ireland, as by Law established.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING

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eral and Comptroller of
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the History of the Irish

and the History of the Irish

LONDON: Printed by the Author.

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E R R A T A.

P. 8, l. 9. instead of 1633, read 1638.

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Ibid. l. 21. instead of after read afterwards.

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Advertisement.

THIS Dialogue was written during the ^a late Rebellion in Scotland, in Vindication of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, against whom (notwithstanding their quiet, and dutiful behaviour at that Juncture, and indeed ever since the Revolution) many false, and scurrilous Libels were then published.

In Justice therefore to that People, (whom, notwithstanding the difference of their Religion from mine, I shall ever regard as my Brethren, and Countrymen) I now venture to expose to public View, the Behaviour of some of their Predecessors in that period of Time, which hath furnished most Matter of Invective against them; and herein, I flatter my self I shall be deemed, by all candid Persons, to have acted no other Part, but that of an Advocate for Truth, and Mercy, in behalf of a set of Men, who have been so

^a In the Year 1745.

long, in the general, condemn'd without either.

And this I am the more inclined to hope, because I have, through this whole Controversy, quoted no other Writings in their Favour, but those of their greatest Enemies; whose Testimonys, tho' always to be suspected, when against them, are surely, when for them, highly credible, as being evidently extorted by the Force of Truth alone.

Names of the Writers quoted in this Dialogue.

King Charles Ist.

Earl of Strafford.

Earl of Clarendon.

Sir John Temple.

Doctor Edward Borlase.

Sir Edward Walker.

Roger first Earl of Orrery.

Bishop of Dromore.

Walter Harris, Esq;

Doctor Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore.

Doctor Howell.

Doctor Nalson.

Doctor Swift.

A Brief

A brief Account, from the most authentic Protestant Writers, of the Causes, Motives, and Mischiefs of the Irish Rebellion on the 23d Day of October 1641, delivered in a Dialogue between a Dissenter, and a Member of the Church of Ireland, as by Law established.

Ch. **I**T is confess'd on all Hands, that both at this present troublesome Conjunction, and for more than fifty Years past the *Irish Papists* among us have behaved as dutifully, and submissively (notwithstanding the particular Restraints they have always lain under) as any other of his Majesty's Subjects. Why therefore is the *Rebellion of forty one*, with so many unjust, and inhumane Exagerations, at this time, trump'd up against them? Why, I say, when no present Cause of Complaint can be assigned by us against that People, who are our Brethren, both as Christians, and as Men, do we thus unmercifully rip up old Sores, and revive obsolete Quarrels to bring an odium upon them, which

we our selves allow they never personally deserved? For my part, I never look into those bitter Invectives, that are daily coming out against them, without an Apprehension that they were designed to spirit up their *numerous, and powerful Enemies to extirpate*, by all possible Means, that useful, and inoffensive set of Men from the Face of the Earth.

Diff. What renders the traiterous, and inhuman Proceedings of the *Irish Papists*, in the Year 1641, utterly inexcusable, and necessary to be always remembered by us, is, that, at that Juncture, the state of their Affairs, both *spiritual, and temporal*, was, according to all our Historions, and Divines, as quiet and happy, as they themselves could reasonably wish it.^b

“ Whatever, says the Earl of Clarendon,
 “ their Land, Labour, or Industry produced, was their own, being free from fear
 “ of having it taken from them by the
 “ King, on any pretence whatsoever, without their own consent:” And as to *spiritual* Matters, the same noble Historian informs us, “ that the whole Nation enjoy’d

^b Hist of the *Irish Rebellion* p. 67.

“ an undisturbed exercise of their Religi-
 “ on, and that even in *Dublin* (where the
 “ Seat of the King’s chief Governour was)
 “ they went as PUBLICLY, and uninter-
 “ ruptedly to their Devotions, as HE went
 “ to his.---In this blessed Condition of
 “ Peace, and Security, concludes his Lord-
 “ ship, the *English*, and *Irish*, the *Prote-*
 “ *stants* and *Roman Catholics* lived, &c.
 “ during the whole happy Reign of King
 “ *James*, and from his Death, every de-
 “ gree of their Happiness was INCREASED
 and IMPROVED, under the Government of
 his late Majesty (King *Charles Ist.*)

Cb. Indeed I wonder not a little, that
 the Earl of *Clarendon* has thus confident-
 ly asserted so notorious a Falshood; but I
 think it not at all strange, that all our His-
 torians, Preachers, and Libellers, since his
 time, have taken up that Falshood from
 him upon trust, and vended it as a certain
 Truth, upon all occasions, wherein that
 unhappy Affair is mentioned.

Diff. And will you, Sir, undertake to
 prove it a Falshood?

Cb. I will, in every particular; and that
 too, by Authorities, which, even to you,
 will appear unexceptionable.

Diff.

Diff. What you say surprizes me exceedingly?

Ch. For, to begin with Temporal Matters, the Business of *defective Titles* alone, which, in both these Reigns, was rigorously prosecuted, in *Ireland*, by the then Lords Deputies, chiefly with a view to enrich themselves, to extirpate the *Roman Catholic* Natives, and to plant foreign *Protestants* on their Estates, was not, you will allow, very compatible with that *blessed Peace*, and Security, which your noble Historian informs us these Natives then enjoy'd.

Diff. The Business of defective Titles (as I take it) in *Ireland*, was no more than this; that such Persons, as were possessed of Estates in that Kingdom, and could not upon a judicial Enquiry, shew any legal Title to them, were condemn'd to a Forfeiture of them; and such Estates were to revert to the Crown.

Ch. It would be too tedious to enlarge on the Nature of that Business at present; but I will give you a sketch of one Branch of it, and of the then Proceedings therein, in the Words of a Committee of the *Irish* House of Commons, as set forth in their
Letter

Letter to the E. of *Strafford*, in the Year 1634^c, wherein, after having mentioned, that this uncertainty of their Estates, or the calling in Question their Titles to them (whereby manifold Inconveniencies had befallen the Nation) was first occasioned, by
 “ the embezzeling, burning, and deface-
 “ ing of Records, and other Evidences,
 “ which happen’d in that Realm, in
 “ Times loose, and uncertain, troubled
 “ with continual War, and that it was
 “ afterwards increased by the Negligence,
 “ or Ignorance of fundry Persons employ-
 “ ed heretofore in passing of Patents, and
 “ Estates from the Crown; whereby ma-
 “ ny Errors in Law crept into these
 “ Grants.” They add, “ whereof divers
 “ indigent Persons, with Eagle Eyes pier-
 “ cing thereinto, commonly took advan-
 “ tage, to the UTTER OVERTHROW of
 “ many noble and deserving Persons, that
 “ for valuable Considerations of Service or
 “ Money, or BOTH, honourably, and fair-
 “ ly acquired these Estates.”

Diff. These Words seem to allude to the Proceedings of Sir *Arthur Chichester*

^c E. of *Strafford*’s State Let. Vol. 1. fol. 310.

in King *James* the 1st's Reign, and to those of the Lord *Falkland* in that of King *Charles* the 1st, concerning that Affair; and yet I think both these Deputies therein only acted the part of faithful Servants to the Crown.

Ch. And nobly were they rewarded for such Service ^d! Sir *Arthur Chichester* with Land, which, in the Year 1633, was of no less than ten Thousand Pounds yearly value; and the Lord *Falkland*, with ten Thousand Pounds at one Gift. And it is probable, that the E. of *Strafford*, succeeding to their Power and Authority, exerted himself so arbitrarily, and tyrannically, as we find he did, in the same Business, in hopes of meeting with an equal Recompence.

Diff. In what Respect did the E. of *Strafford* exert himself arbitrarily, and tyrannically in that Business?

Ch. I'll tell you that in his own words; --First, in this kind of Tryal of the Titles of the Natives to their Estates, which their Forefathers had quietly enjoyed for many Centuries, he proposed the raising

^d Id. ib. Vol. 2. fol. 294.

of^e "five Hundred Horse, as GOOD LOOK-
 "ERS ON." Secondly, ^t "he resolved
 "to *treat* with such as might give further-
 "ance in finding the Title for the King."
 Thirdly, "he enquired out ^g *fit Men* to
 "serve upon JURYS" on that occasion.
 Fourthly ^h "he obtained a Grant from his
 "Majesty of four Shillings in the Pound
 "to the Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord
 "Chief Baron of *Ireland*, forth of the
 "first yearly Rent raised upon the Com-
 "mission of defective Titles ;" which Mo-
 "ney (says his Lordship) upon Observa-
 "tion I find to be the best given that ever
 "was, for they intend that Business with
 "a Care and Diligence, as if it were their
 "own Private." Fifthly, ⁱ in the County
 of *Galway*, where the Jury refused to dis-
 possess the Natives, and find the Title in
 the King, he fined the Sheriff, that return-
 ed them a thousand Pounds to his Maje-
 sty, and bound over the Jury to answer in
 the *Castle Chamber*, "where, says he, we
 "conceive it is fit that their PERTINACI-
 "OUS CARRIAGE be follow'd with all
 "JUST SEVERITY."

^e Id. ib. v. 2. fol. 198.

^t V. 1. fol. 339.

^g Id.

ib.

^h Id. ib. v. 2. fol. 41.

ⁱ Id. ib. v. 1. fol. 451.

Diff. These Proceedings were not, I confess, very equitable.

Ch. By these means, his Lordship actually depriv'd many of the *Irish Papists* of their Estates; and seized upon them for the King's use; and he attempted to do the like on the entire Counties of *Roscommon, Mayo, and Cork*; with some parts of *Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow* and other places; ^k although his Majesty had, in the Year 1628, given his Royal Promise to that People, under his princely Signet (in consideration of two hundred, and seventy Thousand Pounds, by them freely given to him) to secure them in their Estates against all such Enquiries, and to have that his *Grace*, and many others, past into Laws, at the next meeting of their Parliament.

Diff. And what hindered his Majesty from fulfilling his Royal Promise to that People?

Ch. The pressing, and constant Sollicitations of the E. of *Strafford* dissuading him from it. For in the Year 1634, after the *Irish Commons* had chearfully

^k Id. ib. vol. 1. fol. 310.

granted the new Subsidies, then demanded of them, they sent that Letter, which I have already mentioned, to his Lordship, to be by him transmitted into *England*, wherein reminding his Lordship of the King's Promise to them, they set forth "the Comfort they took in his Majesty's "Royal Word, THE BEST OF ASSURANCES, and in his Princely Singature," formerly past to them. But the E. of *Strafford*, as I said before, instead of promoting the performance of hat Promise, as in Justice to that People, and in Honour of his Majesty's Word he ought to have done, used all the Means in his Power to prevent it; and even ^l offered his Majesty to take upon himself all the Blame, and Scandal, which he knew must attend so unjust, and perfidious a Denyal; for which wonderful piece of Service, he soon ^m after receiv'd, in a Letter under the King's own Hand, his Majesty's Thanks, and Approbation; and such was the blessed, and happy Condition, which, *Clarendon* tells us, the *Irish* lived in, at that Juncture,

^l Id. ibid.^m Id. ib. vol. 1. fol. 331.

with regard to Temporals; and as for spiritual Matters, their situation.---

Diff. Was not, I hope, quite so bad.---

Ch. It was indeed much worse---for instead of enjoying an uninterrupted, and public, Exercise of their Religion, as your Noble Historian would make the World believe they did, they could not obtain even a Tolleration of it, during a great part of that, and the former Reign: For “in the Year” 1629 that memorable Pro-
“testation, says *Borlace*, made by the Bi-
“shops against *Popery*, and published in
“*Christ-Church Dublin*, by Doctor *Down-*
“*ham*, Bp. of *Derry*, was grateful:” In the
same Year, says the Bishop of *Dromore* °,
“a strict Proclamation issued against the
“Exercise of the *Popish* Rites and Cere-
“monys:” And it was upon occasion of this
Proclamation, and Persecution “that P the
“*Irish Roman Catholics* offered constant-
“ly to pay an Army of five Thousand
“Foot, and five Hundred Horse, for his
“Majesty’s Service, provided they might

° *Borlace* Red. of Ireland. ° Serm. on 23d Oct.
1733, p. 18. P Sir *Edward Walker*’s obser. on the
annals of *Hammon L’Estrange* fol. 338.

“ be *tolerated* in the Exercise of their Religion ; which Offer was not accepted.”

Diff. 'Tis strange, that the E. of *Clarendon* should have been ignorant of these Matters !

Ch. 'Tis plain, he could not be ignorant of them ; and perhaps I shall account to you, some other Time, for his having so boldly asserted these, and other notorious Untruths to the Prejudice of the *Irish*.--But to go on with my Authorities, “ in 1633, “ *Richard E.* of *Conk*, and Sir *Adam Loftus*, being Lords Justices, the *Roman Catholic* Clergy of *Dublin* were suppressed, and fifteen Houses (Chappels) by Direction of the Lords of the Council in *England* seized on for the King's use ; and the Fryars and Priests were persecuted, as two (^r says *Borelace*) hang'd themselves in their own Defence.” I omit here, what I suppose is known to every Body, that the Tax of twelve Pence a *Sunday* was rigorously levyed on the *Roman Catholics* of *Ireland*, for absenting

^a *Borelace* Red of *Irel.*

^r *Ibid.*

themselves from *Protestant* service, in both these Reigns.

Diff. I insist upon it, that the E. of *Strafford* did suspend that Tax in *Ireland*, as soon as he arrived there.

Ch. The E. of *Strafford* did, indeed, politically suspend that Tax; but he, at the same Time, managed Matters so artfully with the *Irish Papists*, by Compositions, Contributions, and other Means, that he had good Reason to boast ¹ "that he
" did more towards a Reformation, so far
" as a *pecuniary Mule* can effect it, than
" any that went before him." In short he so grievously oppressed that People every way, that the ¹ E. of *Holland*, one of the Privy Council in *England*, could not conceal his Fears in the Year 1636, "that his
" Lordship's Severity might dispose them
" to call the *Irish* Regiments out of *Flan-*
" *ders* to their Assistance." And the E. of *Strafford* himself ² gives us to understand, that he was threatened, and not unapprehensive of meeting, with a *Felton*, or a *Raviliac* among them. So scandal-

¹ E. of *Straff.* State Letters v. 1. fol. 174. ² Id. *ibid.*
³ Id. *ibid.*

ously false is that Affirmation of your noble Historian; "that every degree of
 "the Happiness of the *Irish* was increased,
 "and improved, under the Government
 "of King *Charles* the 1st."

Diff. It seems then that the Seeds of that horrid Rebellion, which broke out in the Year 1641, were sown at the Times you have mentioned, under the Earl of *Strafford*'s oppressive Administration.

Cb. So far from it, that I will demonstrate to you, that his oppressive, and galling, Administration did not at all lessen the great Loyalty of the *Irish Papists*, even when continued to the Year 1639; for at that Time, when the breaking out of the Rebellion in *Scotland* occasioned his Lordship to call another Parliament in *Ireland*, in order to raise new and large Subsidies for his Majesty, the ^w NATIVES in the House of Commons, who were mostly *Irish Papists*, gave the strongest Proofs of an unparalell'd Affection and Loyalty to the King w^h "some of them having said

^w These are the Words of a Letter written by such of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, as were Members of that Parliament. See that Letter at large in 2^d vol. of *Straff.* State Letters fol. 397.

" that

“ that his Majesty should have a *Fee-sim-*
 “ *ple* on their Estates on that occasion :
 “ others of them, with great Chearfulness,
 “ declared that, to answer his Majesty’s
 “ Occasions, for the Honour of his Person,
 “ and safety of his Kingdoms, it was fit to
 “ be done, though it were with leaving
 “ themselves nothing beside *Hose* and
 “ *DOUBLET* : That their Hearts contain-
 “ ed *Mines of Subsidies* for his Majesty,
 “ &c.--And these Declarations were unani-
 “ mously assented to by the whole House,
 “ there being found therein not one NE-
 “ GATIVE VOICE ; and all this was con-
 “ cluded with general Acclamations, and
 “ signs of Joy, and Contentment, even to
 “ the throwing up of their *Hats*, and lift-
 “ ing up of their *Hands*, &c.” And the
 E. of *Strafford* himself, in his Letter to
 the Marquis of *Hamilton*, on this Subject,
 says, y “ It is not to be beleived, what a
 “ forwardness there is in this People to
 “ serve on this Occasion ; and certainly
 “ they will sell *themselves* to the *last Far-*
 “ *thing*, before they deny any thing, which
 “ can be asked of them in order to that.”

* Id. ib. v. 2. fol. 401.

Diff. How happen'd it then, that, in about two Years after, these same, so exceedingly loyal Natives, broke out into that horrid Rebellion?

Ch. After what I have related to you, it is not natural to think, that their rising in Rebellion so soon after, was the Effect of any settled Disaffection in them to his Majesty's Person or Government; but it is very evident, that it was entirely owing to a Continuation, and increase of the Grievances, already mentioned; and to their just Apprehensions of others still greater, with which they were threatened; and as these Grievances, and Apprehensions, must have been always very affecting to that People, they certainly became much more so, at that Juncture, when they were considered by them, as the only Recompence they were to expect for their late, transcendent Loyalty and Affection to the Crown of England. And this is apparent from the Examination of *Owen O'Connolly* himself, who was the first that discovered this Conspiracy to the Lords Justices, and Council in *Ireland*: For he therein

therein swears, that the *Irish* Rebels z “de-
 “ clared (on that occasion) that they did
 “ owe their Allegiance to the King, and
 “ would pay him all his Rights; but
 “ that they did this (Rise) for the *Tyran-*
 “ *nical Government* was over them.”

Diff. Can you produce me a Proof of the
 Grounds of those *Apprehensions*, which
 you say the *Irish* had of *further Grievan-*
ces from the then Government of *Eng-*
land or *Ireland*?

Ch. ^a Doctor *Howell*, the King's Histo-
 riographer, mentioning the Causes of, and
 Incentives to, this Rebellion, alledges, that
 “ the *Irish* understanding with what A-

^a *Temple's Hist of the Irish Rebel.* It appears from
 several Querys of a Committee of the *Irish* House of
 Commons in the *Summer* of 1641, that the *Irish* then
 laboured under many insupportable Grievances, of which
 the following are only a few, viz. “ Jurors, upon many
 “ occasions, that gave verdict according to their Con-
 “ sciences were censured in the Castle Chamber in great
 “ Fines, some times pillor'd with the loss of Ears, and
 “ bored thro' the Tongue, and some times mark'd
 “ in the Forehead with a hot Iron.--*Quo-Warrantos*
 “ were issued out of the King's Bench, and Exchequer
 “ against Burroughs, which anciently, and recently,
 “ sent Members to Parliament.--The Testimony of
 “ Thieves protected, and other infamous Persons, was
 “ taken against their Lives and Libertys, &c. &c.” See
Borelase's History of Irish Rebellion.

^a *Mer. Hiber. Anno 1643.*

“ crimony

“crimony the *Roman Catholics in Eng-*
 “*land* were proceeded against, since
 “the sitting of the *English* Parliament,
 “and what further designs were on foot
 “against them, &c. thought it high time
 “for them to forecast what should be-
 “come of them, &c. when a new Depu-
 “ty of the Parliament’s Election, Appro-
 “bation at least, should come over; and
 “this, adds he, was another Motive, (and
 “indeed it was a shrewd one) which
 “push’d on the *Irish* to take up Arms:”
 And ^b Doctor *Maxwell*, afterwards Bishop
 of *Kilmore*, “deposes, that he had asked
 “many both of the *Irish* Commanders,
 “and Fryars, what chiefly moved them to
 “take up Arms, and that they said (a-
 “mong other things) that they were cer-
 “tainly informed, that the Parliament of
 “*England* had a Plot to bring them all
 “to Church, or to cut off all the *Papists*
 “in the King’s Dominions.”

Diff. These Testimonies prove only that
 the *Irish*, at that time, had such Apprehen-
 sions; but not at all, that there were any
 just Grounds for them.

^b His Exam. Apend. to *Borelace’s* Hist. of the *Irish*
 Rebel.

Ch. Will you not allow, that there are just Grounds for apprehending a Danger, with which People are apparently threaten'd by those, who are much more powerful than themselves?

Diff. I will.

Ch. Well then, that such was the Case of the *Irish Papists*, at that Time, I will prove from the Words of the Royal Martyr himself, who surely ought to be supposed the most knowing, and impartial Judge of this Matter. These Words are, “certainly 'tis thought by many wise Men

Eck. Basilic. “ Both Houses of the *English* Parliament, says the E. of *Castlehaven*, were solicited by several Petitions out of *Ireland* to have the *Roman Catholics* of that Kingdom treated with the like Rigor (as those in *England* then were) which to a People so fond of their Religion as the *Irish*, was no small Inducement to make them, while there was an Opportunity offer'd, to stand on their guard. *Mem. p. 12.* And in an Extract of the brief Narrative, address'd by *P. Walsb* to the Duke of *Ormond* in 1664, we find these Words, “ the whole World may be pleased to know, &c. that before the *Irish* fell from their Obedience to the Government, Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices, at a public Entertainment, before many Witnesses, did positively declare that within a Twelvemonth no Catholic should be seen in *Ireland*. Many Hands were sought, and thousands were found to subscribe a Petition, tending to introduce a severe Persecution against Catholics. *P. W. Reply to a Person of Quality. p. 7.*

“ that

“ that the preposterous *Rigor*, and un-
 “ reasonable Severity, which some Men
 “ carryed before them in *England*, was
 “ not the least Incentive that *kindled*, and
 “ blew into *horrid Flames* the Sparks of
 “ Discontent, which wanted not predif-
 “ posed Fuel, of Rebellion in *Ireland*;
 “ where *Despair* being added to their
 “ former Discontents, and the Fears of ut-
 “ ter *Extirpation* to their wonted *Oppressi-*
 “ *ons*, it was easy to *provoke* them to open
 “ Rebellion, &c. both to exempt them-
 “ selves from their *present Restraint*, and
 “ prevent those after *Rigors* wherewith
 “ they saw *themselves* apparently *threaten-*
 “ *ed* by the *Covetous Zeal*, and *uncharita-*
 “ *ble Fury* of some Men, who think it a
 “ great Argument of the Truth of *their*
 “ *Religion*, to endure no other but *their*
 “ *own*. ”

Diff. But what Provocation can, any
 way, justify the incredibly numerous, and
 inhuman Massacrees, that were perpetra-
 ted by the *Irish Papists* on the *British*
Protestants, in the very beginning of this
 Rebellion ?

Ch. I readily grant that no Provocation
 cou'd have any way justified, or excused
 such

such Massacres, as you would suppose to have been perpetrated, on the *British Protestants* by the *Irish Papists*, in the Beginning of this Rebellion; but I absolutely deny your Supposition, that such Massacres were then perpetrated on the *British Protestants* by the *Irish Papists*.

Diff. The E. of *Clarendon*, who is, you know, the most moderate of all our Writers upon this Subject, expressly says, that^d “on the 23d of *October* 1641, a
“Rebellion broke out in all parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, where the Design
“of it was miraculously discovered the
“Night before it was to be executed,
“&c. but that, in the other parts of the
“*Kingdom*, they observed the Time appointed, not hearing of the Misfortune
“of their Friends at *Dublin*, &c. That a
“general Insurrection of the *Irish* spread
“it self over the whole Country, in such an
“inhuman, and barbarous Manner, that
“there were^e forty or fifty Thousand
“Protestants

^d Hist of the Rebellion in England.

^e The surprizing Difference and Inconsistency of the Accounts given us of these Murders by the Enemies of the *Irish Papists*, is no inconsiderable Proof of the falshood of that Imputation. Sir *William Pett*, Surveyor General

“ *Protestants murdered* before they suspected themselves in any *Danger*, or could provide for their *Defence*, by drawing together into Towns, or strong Houses.”

Ch. Will you give me leave to ask you a few Questions concerning this Assertion of the *E. of Clarendon*, before I give you my Answer as to the matters of Fact contained in it?

Diff. With all my Heart, Sir.

Ch. Well then, suppose I prove to you, from unquestionable Records, which were generally known in the *E. of Clarendon's* time, that this Rebellion (so far from breaking out on the 23d of *October 1641*. In all Parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, as his Lordship affirms) was then, and for

ral of *Ireland*, soon after that Period, says that “ after the
“ closest Scrutiny, there were not above 36,000 KILL'D
“ ON BOTH SIDES, in the FIELD, and in COLD BLOOD, during the whole Time of the War.” And I have seen a Manuscript, written, about the Year 1667, which says that 400 *English* could not be found murdered, during the whole Time of this Rebellion, “ as appeareth,
“ adds the Author, by the Proceedings, and the Records
“ of the usurped Powers still extant in *Dublin*, and their
“ severe Enquiry, and High Court of Justice.” They, who have an Opportunity (which I have not had) of consulting these Records, may soon satisfy themselves, as to this particular.

some

some time after, confined to some parts of the Province of *Ulster* only, will you not allow, that his Lordship hath so far affirm'd, and endeavour'd to propagate, a most shameful, and injurious Falshood?

Diff. I will.

Ch. And if I shall thereby prove, that fewer, by three Parts in four of the *Irish* did rise on the 23d of *October* 1641, than what his Lordship reports, may I not fairly conclude, that, at least, one half of the Murders he hath lay'd to their Charge were never committed by them?

Diff. I believe you may.

Ch. Certainly, after a Writer has been convicted of so notorious an untruth, and Calumny, with respect to three whole Provinces of a Kingdom, which consists only of four, (the revolting or quietness of which must be publicly known) we may well suppose, without the least breach of Charity, that he hath prevaricated much more egregiously with regard to the number of Persons murdered in that Revolt, the Knowledge of which is, on many Accounts, so very hard to be come at.

Diff. But I long to hear your Proofs, from unquestionable Records, as you call them,

them, that this Rebellion, on the 23d of *October* 1641, and for some Time after, was not general in all parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, but confined to some Part of the Province of *Ulster* only.

Ch. I am now ready to produce that Proof to you ; and this it is---The then Lords Justices of *Ireland*, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borelace*, in a Proclamation published by them on the 29th of *October* 1641, explaining what they had too generally set forth in a former Proclamation concerning the *Irish Papists*, engaged in the Beginning of this Rebellion, t “ declare and publish to all his Majesty’s good Subjects, that, by the Words “ *Irish Papists* (mentioned without Distinction in the former Proclamation) *they* “ *intended* only such of the *old, mere* “ *Irish, in the Province of Ulster*, as had “ plotted, contrived, and been Actors in “ that Treason, and others, who adhered “ to them.” And that this Rebellion was not then general, (even in the Opinion of these Lords Justices) and spread over

¹ See *Temple’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.*

the whole Country, nor did begin to be general till the * 14th of *December* following, evidently appears by their Letter, of that Date, to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, then in *England*, wherein we find these Words concerning it, “ And “ the Fire, which was *first kindled in* “ *Ulster*, and lay a while smothered in “ other Parts, *begins now* to break out “ *generally.*” As for the intermediate month of *November*, we learn that all Things were quiet in the two large Provinces of *Conaught* and *Munster* on the 14th thereof, from a Passage in the Journal of the House of Lords in *England* to this purpose “ Next a letter was “ read written to the Lord Chamberlain, “ dated the 14th of *November* 1641, “ from *Ireland*, the principal particulars “ of which were these ; that the Town “ of *Galway* in *Ireland* is well fortified, “ and in Command of Mr. *Willoughby* ;

* These Lords Justices in their Commission sent down to *Ulster*, and dated the 23d of *December* 1641, only say, “ Whereas *divers* wicked, and disloyal People have lately risen in Arms in *several* Parts of this Kingdom, and “ have robbed, and spoiled, &c. *Temple's Hist.* p. 137.

“ that

“ that the Province (*Connaught*) wherein
 “ his Lordship (*Clanrickard*) is, doth
 “ *utterly dislike* the Proceedings of the
 “ Rebels---That the whole Province of
 “ *Munster* is yet quiet.”

Diff. But, if this Rebellion was not, then,
 general in all, or, at least, most Parts of *Ire-*
land (except *Dublin*) and if the *Irish Papists*
 in the other Parts did not observe the
 Time appointed, (*viz.* the 23d of *October*
1641) as *Clarendon* says they did,
 how happened it that so many “ Thou-
 “ sands of *English Protestants* were sur-
 “ prized, and murdered (as they certainly
 “ were) before they *suspected themselves*
 “ in any Danger, or could provide for
 “ their safety, by drawing together into
 “ Towns and strong Houses?”

Cb. That this Rebellion was not gene-
 ral, but confined to some Parts of *Ulster*
 only on the 23d of *October*, 1641, I have
 given you unquestionable Proof, if you
 will *allow* the Proclamation, and Letter of
 the then Lords Justices of *Ireland* to be
 such; but it seems, that the E. of *Clar-*
rendon, thought it necessary to advance
 the *first Falshood*, concerning the generality
 of this Rebellion, in order to give some

colour of Truth to the *second*, viz. the incredible Number of Murders, which, he says, were committed by the *Irish* at the Beginning of it.

Diff. Perhaps you will not allow that any considerable number of Protestants was murdered at the first breaking out of this Rebellion?

Ch. After a careful Perusal of our own best Writers on this Subject, I don't see any Reason that should induce me to think there was---for ^h Sir *John Temple* himself confesses (and it is a most wonderful Confession from him) that “ the “ *Irish* (in *Ulster*) at the very first, for “ some few days after their breaking out, “ did not, in most places, murder many “ *English* ; but the Course they took “ (says he) was to seize upon all their “ Goods, and Cattle---ⁱ and in all the Examinations, that have been published concerning the Murders committed, during this Rebellion, I find no Mention made of any that was perpetrated by the *Irish* on the *English* on the 23d of *October*

^h History of the *Irish* Rebellion.
Temple and *Borlase*.

ⁱ See the Exam. in

1641, or for some time after ; except that of five Persons, who are not placed under any Date, but are only in general, said to have been murdered soon after the Rebellion ; and sure that day was so sadly remarkable, that whatever Mischiefs were done on it, could not have been forgotten.

Diff. That, I must own, is somewhat strange.

Ch. Nay, there is the strongest, presumptive, Proof, that, I think, can be had of any thing, that no Murders at all, at the least none considerable, were committed by the *Irish* at their first breaking out.

Diff. Let us hear that Proof.

Ch. The Lords Justices, and Council, already mentioned, in ^k their Letter of the 25th of *October* 1641, to the Lord Lieutenant in *England* (giving his Lordship an account of this Rebellion, which they had received from Persons of Quality, and Rank in *Ulster*) take notice indeed, “ that the *Irish* had burned, and “ plundered the Houses of the *English*

^k See *Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.*

“ there

“there, at their first setting out,” but write not a Word of their having murdered a single Person ; altho’ they give us to understand, in that Letter, that even in the County of *Monaghan* (where, I say these Lords Justices and Council,) “these “Fires did first break out,” and consequently should have raged with greatest Fury) these Rebels then had the “Lord *Blaney*’s Wife, Children, and Servants in their power ; as likewise several other Families ; a Plantation of *English* ; and the Inhabitants, and Garrison, of the Town of *Newry*.” And what puts it out of all Doubt, that these Lords Justices and Council had heard of no Murders committed by the *Irish* (and therefore that no Murders had been then committed by them) they expressly^m add, “and this (plundering and burning of “Houses) tho’ too much, *is all we yet “bear is done by them.*”

Diff. But is it not possible, that the *Irish* might have then committed many inhuman Murders in *Ulster*, which these Lords Justices, and Council, residing in

¹ Ibid.

^m Ibid.

Dublin, might not have heard of, so soon after as the Date of that Letter ?

Ch. The possibility of the Thing I will not dispute ; but surely you will grant it to be highly improbable, ⁿ that the Lord *Blaney*, Sir *Arthur Terringham*, and others, who were upon the Spot, at the Time, and Place, wherein this Rebellion first broke out, and who communicated the first Account of it to the Lords Justices, and Council, would have omitted the most interesting, and affecting Part of it, the murdering of so many thousands of Protestants, by the Rebels at their first rising out ; or that they could possibly have been ignorant of these Murders, if any such had been committed.

Diff. I confess, it is highly improbable, that either of these two things should have happened.

Ch. But I must put another Question to you on this Occasion, which is, whether you can suppose it possible, that these Lords Justices and Council should not have heard of these Murders on the 23d of *December* following, especially since

* See *Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion.*

the modest, and veracious Sir *John Temple*, and his great Encomiast, and Copyer^o, the Bishop of *Dromore*, roundly assert^t, that, in the two first Months of this Rebellion (which space of time the Date above mentioned exactly contains) “ more
 “ than one hundred and fifty thousand Pro-
 “ testants were massacred in cold Blood;
 “ and that the most cruel, as well as the
 “ most frequent, of these Massacres were
 “ committed in *Ulster*.”

Diff. Without Doubt, 'tis impossible they should not have heard of these Murders long before the 23d of *December* following.

Ch. And, if they had heard of them, at that Time, is it reasonable to believe, that in those Commissions, which they then sent down, under the great Seal of *Ireland*, to some Gentleman in *Ulster*, and other Parts of the Kingdom authorizing them ^p to call upon all those, who had suffered by this Rebellion, as also on all the Witnesses of these Sufferings, to give in Examinations of the *nature* of them, and

^o Appendix to his Sermon on the 23d of *October* 1733, *Christ Church Dublin*.

^p See *Temple's History*.

of every *Circumstance* relating to them ; particularly therein mentioning, *Plunder*, *Robbery*, *Treasonable Actions*, and even *Speeches*, and *Words* : Is it reasonable, I say, to believe, that these Lords Justices, and Council, would not, at the same Time, have given Power, in these Commissions to such Gentlemen, to take Cognizance of Murders too ; if even the thousandth Part of those execrable Massacres had been then committed by the *Irish* on the *English*, which we are now told of ?

Diff. As I am fully persuaded that these Lords Justices and Council, deemed those execrable Massacres by far more heinous Crimes, and consequently more worthy of Punishment, than treasonable Speeches, and Words, I cannot think they would have sent down a Commission empowering Gentlemen to take Examinations about the latter, without making particular Mention of, and giving a special Charge concerning, the former ; if indeed any such Massacres had been committed at the Time of sending down that Commission.

E

Cb.

Ch. But that in these Commissions, dated the 23d of *December* 1641, and sent down to *Ulster*, and other Parts, under the great Seal of *Ireland*, by the Lords Justices and Council, (wherein special Power is given to make Enquiries into, and take Examinations concerning, all the above Particulars) not a Syllable is mentioned of Murder, you will find by reading the Commission it self, as you have it at large in Sir *John Temple's* History of this Rebellion, p. 137, 138.

Diff. But you will find in that History, that, in virtue of those Commissions sent down to *Ulster*, and other parts of *Ireland*, Examinations were afterwards taken concerning Murders, as well as concerning Plunder, Robbery, Treasonable Actions, Speeches and Words.

Ch. I have already told you, that it does not appear from any of these Examinations, as they have been since published, that any Murders at all were committed by the *Irish* on the *English* at the first breaking out of this Rebellion; and whether or no these Examinations may be deemed competent Proofs of
the

the Murders, which they set forth to have been perpetrated in the Progress of it, we shall hereafter examine----

Diff. But you will allow, I hope, that this Rebellion, soon after, became general among all the Popish Natives of that Kingdom.

Ch. It did indeed soon after become too general, but not among all the Popish Natives of the Kingdom ; and that it's becoming so was owing to the same Cause, (the Tyranny of the Lords-Justices) which, I have already prov'd, at first gave it Birth, *Clarendon* himself seems plainly to confess.

Diff. Pray how does he seem to confess it?

Ch. In these Words. m “ Many Persons of Honour, says he, among the “ *Irish* Catholics, had always given “ signal Proofs of their Duty, and Affection to the King----others of them “ were, by the *Passion* and *Rigor* of “ those, who were then in *Authority*, “ and had Power enough to *destroy*, “ whom they had *Inclination* enough to

“ *Suspect*, or accuse,--*driven* to put
 “ themselves into the *Protection* of those,
 “ whose Ways, and Courses they *totally*
 “ *disapprov'd*”. And the Royal Mar-
 tyr himself testifyeth, in his *Ik. Basilic.*
 that those Persons, then in Authority
 in *Ireland*, “ *Exasperated* the Rebels
 “ to the *most desperate Resolutions*, and
 “ *Actions*, by threatning all *Extremities*,
 “ not only to the *known Heads*, and
 “ *Chief Incendiaries*, but even to the
 “ *whole Community* of the *Nation*, resol-
 “ ving to destroy Root, and Branch,
 “ Men, Women, and Children, without
 “ any regard to the usual Pleas of Mer-
 “ cy, which Conquerors, not wholly bar-
 “ barous, are wont to hear from their
 “ own Breasts, in behalf of those, whose
 “ *oppressive Fears*, rather than *Malice*,
 “ engaged, &c.”

Diff. Can you produce me any In-
 stance of, such Tyranny in the Persons,
 then in Authority, in *Ireland*?

Cb. I can produce you several, in their
 Civil, as well as Military, Administration;
 but I will confine my self, at present,
 to a few Instances of their arbitrary,
 and Tyrannical Proceedings in the for-
 mer.

mer Respect, tending rather to foment, and increase, than Suppress, this Rebellion ; as first their peremptorily, and abruptly dissolving the ⁿ Parliament, met in *November*, 1641. in the Castle at *Dublin*, in order to put a stop to this Rebellion, after both Houses had unanimously agreed upon a most dutifull, and loyal Resolution, wherein they set forth their utter Abhorrence, and Detestation of it, and their solemn Protestation, that, if necessary, ^o they would take up Arms, and with their Lives, and Fortunes, endeavour to suppress it. Secondly, ^p tho' his

^a “ This Parliament, tho' surrounded with armed
 “ Men, was suffered to sit but two Days, *temp. Hist.*
 “ p. 123. But it seems, says the Earl of *Castlehaven*,
 “ that this way of proceeding did not square with the
 “ Lords Justices Designs, who were often heard to say,
 “ *That the more there were in Rebellion, the more Land*
 “ *should be forfeited to them*, and therefore in the very
 “ heat of the Business they resolved upon a Prorogation ;
 “ which the Parliament understanding, the Lord *Costello*,
 “ and myself, were sent from the Lords House, and o-
 “ thers from the House of Commons, to the Lords Jus-
 “ tices, to desire the continuance of the Parliament, at
 “ least till the Rebels, then few in Number, were reduc-
 “ ed ; but our Address was slighted, and the Parliament
 “ prorogued to the general Surprise of both Houses, and
 “ the great Dislike of all honest knowing Men.

• See Borlace's Hist. of the Ir. Reb.

• See the same, f. 56.

Majesty,

Majesty, and Both Houses of Parliament in *England*, did, at the Beginning of this Rebellion, recommended it to these Lords-Justices to bestow his Majesty's gracious Pardon to *All such* without Distinction, as should, within a convenient Time, return to their Obedience, Yet these Lords-Justices did, by their 9 Proclamation, published in *November 1641*, limit such his Majesty's, and the Parliament of *England's* favourable, and general Intentions to the Inhabitants of a few Counties only (*viz. Meath, Westmeath, Lowth, and Longford,*) Provided always they were *no Freeholders*, which sort of Men were, to be sure, no more criminal than the Rest, but because they had Estates to lose.

Diff. So----

Ch. Thirdly. In order to make these *Freeholders* still more desperate, and to deprive them of all hopes of ever after reconciling themselves to the Government, these Lords-Justices soon after broke the publick Faith with such of them as were near *Dublin*; 1 for altho' they had publish'd a Proclamation on the 13th of *De-*

1 See the same, f. 46.

2 See the same, f. 60.

cember

ember 1641, commanding some of them, (who had been frightened from their Dwellings by a Massacre committed at *Santry* by the express order of these Lords Justices) to appear before them in *Dublin* on the 18th of said Month, thereby “ giving them the word of the state, that they might then securely, and safely repair thither”; these Lords-Justices, I say, notwithstanding this Proclamation, did, on the 15th of said Month, send out Sir *Charles Coote* with some Forces to *Clontarf*, a Village belonging to Mr. *King* (one of the Chief of those Gentlemen, to whom the *Word of the State*, before mentioned, had been given,) which Forces “ burn’d that Village, and ‘excellently well (says *Bor-*

‘ See *Borl. History of the Irish Rebel.* fol. 62.

‘ Sir *Charles*, besides plundering, and burning this Town, at that Time, did massacre 16 of the Towns-People, Men and Women, besides 3 sucking Infants, and in the very same Week 56 Men, Women, and Children, of the village of *Bulloge*, being frightened at what was done at *Clontarf*, took Boats, and went to Sea to shun the Fury of a Party of Soldiers, that were come out of *Dublin* under the Command of Col. *Crafford*; but, being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, they were overtaken, and thrown over Board. Appendix to *Clar. Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, London printed by *Wilford* 1720.

“ *lase*)

“ *lase*) quitted the Service enjoyned
 “ them”.

Diff. Does not Sir *John Temple* tell you, that these Lords-Justices had great Provocation given them to send out, these Forces to destroy *Clontarf*, before the Expiration of the Time that was allowed these Gentlemen to appear before them in *Dublin* ?

Ch. Sir *John Temple* himself, tho’ a Member of that Privy Council, which, in Conjunction with these Lords-Justices, authorised, and Commanded, the sending out of these Forces to *Clontarf*, does not accuse these Gentlemen, to whom the *Word of the State* had been given, of having done any thing, in that Interval of Time, contrary to their Allegiance : He^u alledges indeed, that “ some of their
 “ Followers had seized a Bark lying
 “ there, and carryed away all the Com-
 “ modities they found in her, a great
 “ part whereof, says he, they had put
 “ into the Dwelling House of Mr. *King*” ; but he takes care not to tell us the precise Time, in which this happened, whe-

“ *Irish* Rebellion.

ther

ther before, or after *the Word of the State* had been given to these Gentlemen: But let this Accident have happened when you will; and supposing the Story true (for which, however, you have only *Sr John's Word*, which is that of a Party, excusing his own cruel, and perfidious, Act) will you, or will any Man, say, that Gentlemen were to be treated thus barbarously, and contrary to the publick Faith given them, because some of their *Follower*s had, in their Absence, committed an Act of Injustice, in which they themselves, are not even accused of having had any part?

Diff. I must confess I know not how to vindicate such Conduct of the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*.

Cb. And, to exasperate these Gentlemen still more, they, by their foul Misrepresentations, sent into *England*, of the Actions, and Dispositions, of the *Irish*, were the cause, that both Houses of Parliament there (to whom the entire Management of this War had been entrusted by the King) had ^w on the 8th of *December 1641*,

^w *Borelace's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, fol. 52.

resolv'd, upon a solemn Debate, that they never would consent to any Tolleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland* x. About this time; the Lord *Dillon* of *Costelloe*, carrying a Remonstrance of the Grievances of the *Irish* to the King, was arrested in *England* by order of that Parliament, and had all his Papers rifled y. On the 21st of *March* 1641, the Lords of the Pale, who had been *driven*, by the Rigor, and Passion of these Lords Justices, to put themselves under the Protection of those Rebels, sent a Letter to the Government, by the E. of *Castlehaven*, humbly setting forth their Grievances, and their Willingness to submit; but they were scornfully, and insultingly, rejected by them. And, entirely to compleat the Despair of the *Irish*, and to force the very meanest, (as they had before done the better sort) of them into Rebellion, for the Prefer-

* Id. ib. fol. 54. Sir *John Read* a Scotchman, and one of his Majesty's Servants, preparing to go to *England* on the same Errand, was stop'd by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and sent to the Lords Justices; and, not concealing what he carry'd, was by them imprisoned, and soon after put to the Rack. *Castlehaven's Mem.* p. 38. y *Bor. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.* and *Cast. Mem.*

vation of their Lives ^z, these Lords Justices publish'd a Proclamation on the 10th of *June* 1642, revoking and annulling all the Protections that had been granted by them to all, and every of the poor, inoffensive labouring People, within the Baronies of *Castleknock*, *Ne-ber-Cross*, *Balrothery*, and *Coolock*, in the County of *Dublin*; and within the Baronies of *Duleek*, *Skryne*, *Moyfenragh*, *Ratoath*, *Deece*, and *Donboyne* in the County of *Meath*, on a groundless Pretence, that “many, or
 “most of these poor People, had abused
 “those Protections; and then took Oc-
 “casion ^a (from the Cruelties, which their
 “own inhuman Treatment of them, had

^a *Borl. Hist of the Irish Rebel.* “All this while,
 “says the Earl of *Castlehaven*, Parties were sent out by
 “the Lords Justices, and Council from *Dublin*, and
 “most Garrisons throughout the Kingdom to kill and
 “destroy the Rebels; but the Officers and Soldiers took
 “little or no care to distinguish between Rebels, and
 “Subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously Men,
 “Women, and Children. Which procedure not only
 “exasperated the Rebels, and induced them to commit
 “the like Cruelties on the *English*, but frightened the
 “Nobility and Gentry round about them, who seeing
 “harmless Country People without respect to Age or
 “Sex thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly
 “threatn'd, &c. resolved to stand on their Guard. Mem.
 “p. 37, 38.

“provoked, and exasperated some of the
 “*Irish* to retaliate on the *English*) to ^b for-
 “bid any *Quarter* to be given to them ;
 “and used all Means to incense the Sol-
 “diers against the Nation in general.”

Diff. Such Proceedings of the Government of *Ireland* did not, indeed, shew any Purpose, or desire in them to put a stop to this Rebellion.

Cb. In order to put it out of all Doubt, that that Government was desirous, and industrious to continue and foment, rather than suppress this Rebellion, let me only observe to you, that, when, in the Year 1643, the Marquis of *Ormond* had, by the King's Command, proposed a Cessation to these Rebels (which they most readily, and dutifully, submitted unto) all Overtures towards it in the Marquis, and his Friends, were greatly disliked by the Persons then in Power in that Government, “and ^c a more unpleasing and un-
 “popular Inclination, says *Clarendon*,
 “could not be discovered in any Man,
 “than a Wish or Consent that the War,

^b *Clar. Hist of the Irish Rebellion.*
 of the *Irish Rebel.*

^c *Clar. Hist.*

“ (from

“ (from which so many *promised Re-*
 “ *venge* ^d *and Fortunes*) should be, any
 “ other way, ended, than with the *Blood*
 “ *and Confiscation* of *all*, whom they
 “ could *propose* to be guilty of the De-
 “ fection.”

Diff. To what end did his Majesty conclude this Cessation with the *Irish* Rebels ?

Ch. In order to bring over ten Thousand of them to his Assistance in *England*, against his Parliament there, who had been for some Time before, in actual Rebellion against him.

Diff. And had his Majesty so much Confidence in these *Irish* Rebels ?

Ch. It is plain that he had ; for he knew full well, as I have already proved from his own Words, and from incon-

* From the beginning of this Rebellion in *Munster*, to *August* 1642, the E. of *Cork* had caused to be forfeited as many Estates of the Lords and Gentlemen of that Province alone, “ as, says his Lordship, were at the Beginning of this Insurrection. not of so little yearly value as two hundred thousand Pounds, &c.” His Lordship calls this “ the Work of Works.” *Orrery's* State Letters, vol. 1. It is therefore no wonder that this noble Lord dyed on the Day of the Cessation, “ as being unwilling, says *Borl.* to survive what was not *auspicious* to the *English*. Red. of *Ireland*.

testible

testable Facts, that their rising in Rebellion, was not owing to any Disaffection in them to his Majesty, but (as the Examination of *Owen O-Connolly* sets it forth) “to the *Tyrannical Government* that was “over them.”

Diff. And what did the *English* Parliament think of this Cessation?

Ch. They were so conscious that his Majesty's good Opinion of the Bravery, and Loyalty, of these late *Irish* Rebels, was well grounded, and so apprehensive that their coming to his Majesty's Assistance might prove destructive to their Designs against him, that * “they made an “Ordinance on the 24th of *October* 1644, “upon the arrival of some of them in “*England*) against giving any *Quarter* to “any *Irishman*, or any *Papist* born in “*Ireland*, taken in Hostility against the “Parliament by Sea, or by Land.” Nay the King himself, two Years after, endeavour'd to escape from *England* to *Ireland* in Order to put himself into the Hands of the *Irish* *Papists*, because ^d says his Ma-

* *Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel.* fol. 178. ^d *K. Charles's Works.*

jeſty, “ all the reſt I ſee deſpiſe me ;” but to his own, and his People’s great Miſfortune, he was prevented by the Vigilance of the *Engliſh* Rebels, who then had him a Priſoner.

Diff. You have, I muſt own, fairly prov’d that the *Iriſh* Papiſts had cauſe to be uneaſy under the then Government of *Ireland*, and that ſuch uneaſineſs, inſtead of being removed, was induſtriouſly increaſed, for ſome time after, by the ſeverity of that Government : But you will not, I hope, pretend to juſtify the Maſſacres which they had committed, during that Rebellion, or deny that they firſt began that horrible Tragedy ?

Ch. I am far from pretending to juſtify thoſe Cruelties (perpetrated by ſome of the Rabble of the *Iriſh*, during this Rebellion) which all the ſober, and unbiſſected *Roman Catholics*, then among them, and now among us, did, and do ſincerely condemn, and abhor. But I muſt inſiſt upon it, that they neither began that Tragedy, nor committed a Murder, at that unhappy Juncture, that was not returned upon them, at leaſt four fold.

Diff.

Diff. These are very strange, and bold Assertions, Sir.

Ch. Nay more ; it will appear, upon a fair Enquiry, that whatever Cruelties were committed on the *English*, by the *Irish*, during this Rebellion, were all perpetrated by an exasperated, and ungovernable Rabble, not only without, but absolutely against, the Consent and Command of their Chiefs : Whereas those committed on the *Irish* by the *English* at that Time, were expressly ordered by Persons, who had a Right to command them, and by the Lords Justices themselves.

Diff. Can you give me any Proofs of what you thus positively advance ?

Ch. Yes, I can give you many more, than I have leisure at present to relate ; and to omit even those Massacres of *Santry*, and *Clontarf*, already hinted at, which were committed by the express Orders of the then Lords Justices, and Council (of the Cruelty and Perfidy of which, I will leave you and all impartial Men, to judge, by the very Apology, which our own

* See the Collection of Murders committed on the *Irish* in this Rebellion. London printed 1660.

Writers make for them) I will just produce one Instance of this authoriz'd Barbarity of the *English* Soldiers, and refer you, for further Conviction, to my general Proof, which you shall just now hear.

Diff. Well ! let us have even that one Instance of authoriz'd Barbarity.

Ch. Colonel *Mervyn*^f *Touchet*, who, thro' the whole Course of this War, was employed in his Majesty's service, tells us, that, upon some of the *Irish* having kill'd, and wounded some poor *English*, in the Passage near *Rathcool*, as he was conducting them to *Dublin* (the Colonel having before seiz'd some of the chief Commanders of that Rabble, and retaken a Booty from them) *Sir Arthur Loftus*, Governour of *Naas*, marched out with a Party of Horse, which was joined by another Party, sent from *Dublin* by the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 “ *and killed such of the Irish as they met.* But
 “ the most considerable slaughter, adds the
 “ Colonel, was in a great strength of Firs,
 “ seated on a Hill, where the g *People of*
 “ *several*

^f Letter to the E. of *Cast.* See Mem. “ In the
 “ Year 1641-2 many Thousands of the poor innocent
 “ People of the County of *Dublin*, shuning the Fury of
 H “ the

“ *several Villages*, taking the Alarm, had
 “ sheltered themselves. Now Sir *Arthur*,
 “ having invested the Hill, set the Firs on
 “ Fire on all sides, where the *People*, be-
 “ ing a considerable number, were all
 “ *burn’d* or *kill’d*. I saw, says he, the
 “ *Bodys*, and the Firs still burning”—
 And as for the Beginning of this Tragedy,
 it hath been ever confidently h averr’d by
 the *Irish Papists* (nor ever yet, that I have
 heard, disproved by their Adversaries)
 that the first considerable Massacre, on
 either side in *Ulster*, was that bloody one,
 which was committed in one Night in
November 1641, “ by the *English*, and
 “ *Scotch* Forces in the Territory of *Car-*
 “ *rickfergus*, on above three Thousand Ca-
 “ tholics, Men, Women, and Children,
 “ Inhabitants thereof, all innocent Per-
 “ sons, and at a Time, when none of the

“ the *English* Soldiers, fled into Thickets, and Firs,
 “ which the Soldiers did usually fire, killing as many as
 “ endeavour’d to escape, or forced them back again to
 “ be burned, and the rest of the Inhabitants, for the most
 “ part, dyed of Famine.” Appendix to *Clar. Hist. of*
the Irish Rebel. London printed by Wilford, 1720.

^b Collect of Murders committed on the *Irish*, Append.
 to *Clar. Hist of the Ir. Reb.*

“ Catholics,

“ Catholics of that Country had appeared in Arms.”

Diff. Have you not read what Doctor *Borlace*, and *Walter Harris*, Esq; have written of that Massacre ?

Ch. ⁱ *Borlace*, and ^k *Harris*, two most industrious Revivers, and Improvers, of all the exploded Calumnies, that were ever heaped on the *Irish Papists*, on this occasion, do not deny the matter of Fact, viz. that this Massacre was perpetrated in *November 1641*, on such a Number of innocent Catholics in that Territory; they only affirm (and that too without the least Proof) that it was not the first Massacre committed on either side; “ but that it was “ done in Revenge for many “ Murders, “ that were before committed by the “ *Irish* on the *Scotch* in the North.”

Diff. And can you prove that it was not ?

Ch. The Proof, that it was done in revenge for many Murders, before committed by the *Irish* on the *Scotch* in the North, lies entirely upon them,

ⁱ Hist. of the *Irish*. Reb. ^k Essay on the Improvement of the Hist. of *Ireland*.

because that is the only Excuse they pretend to make for it ; (as if, supposing their Assertion true, the Cruelties committed by the *Irish* on the *English* in one part of a Province, could excuse the committing of such a Massacre by the *English* on the innocent *Irish* in another Part :) But, if you recollect what I have already told you, concerning the Massacres said to have been perpetrated by the *Irish* on the *English* at the very beginning of this Rebellion, you will find it prov'd to a Demonstration, that no Murders, at least none worthy of the Government's Notice, had been committed by the *Irish* on either the *Scotch*, or *English*, in *Ulster*, even on the 23d of *December* following !

Diff. Yet, cruel as that Massacre at *Carrickfergus* was, there are many, more cruel, and unprovok'd, related of the *Irish*.

Ch. In order to demonstrate to you, at one general view, without shocking either you or my self, by enumerating particular Acts of Cruelty on either side, that, (great as the Clamour of the *English* has been, and still is, against the *Irish* on this Account) they were themselves conscious that
the

the Cruelties, and Massacres, perpetrated by them on the *Irish*, far surpass'd those committed by the *Irish* on them, I shall only observe to you, that, both early in this Rebellion, and soon after it was suppress'd, when these Transactions were notorious, and fresh in every one's Memory, the *English* in Power both here, and in *England*, several Times rejected the Proposals of the *Irish* Chiefs, that there might be a publick, and *Parliamentary Enquiry* made into the Massacres committed on *both sides*, and that the Authors of them might be punish'd according to Law : This, I say, the Enemies of the accused *Irish* Papists several times refused to consent to, tho' publicly, solemnly, and earnestly, challenged thereto by them.

Diff. How, Sir, several Times refused ?

Cb. Yes, Sir, several times.--As first, they refused it when requested in the ¹ Remonstrance of the *Irish* from *Trim*, in the Year 1642, presented by the Lord Vis. *Gormanston*, and Sir *Robert Talbot*. Secondly, they refused it in the Year 1643, when,

¹ See that Remonstrance. See *Borl. Hist. Irish Rebel.*
after

after the Cessation, the *Irish* Agents at *Oxford* laid before his Majesty a Memorial, wherein after having petitioned that a *Free Parliament* might be call'd in *Ireland*, they add, among other Things
 “^m forasmuch as your Majesty’s Catho-
 “ lic Subjects (of that Kingdom) have been
 “ taxed with many inhuman Cruelties,
 “ which they *never committed*, your Ma-
 “ jesty’s said Suppliants therefore, for their
 “ Vindication, and to *manifest to all the*
 “ *World* their Desire to have all such
 “ *benious Offences punish’d*, and the Offen-
 “ ders brought to Justice, do desire that,
 “ in the next Parliament, *all notorious*,
 “ *Murders, breaches of Quarter*, and
 “ inhuman *Cruelties*, committed of either
 “ side, may be questioned in the said Par-
 “ liament, if your Majesty should think
 “ fit, and such as shall appear to be *guil-*
 “ *ty*, to be excepted out of the said *Act*
 “ *of Oblivion*, and *punished* according to
 “ their *Deserts*.”

Diff. But does not *Borlace* inform you, that the Agents of the Government of *Ireland*, who were then likewise in *Eng-*

^m *Borl. Hist. Irish Reb. fol. 191.*

land, did put in an Answer to that Memorial, and, that to the Paragraph you have quoted out of it in particular, they said, " that it was but a Flourish!---that
 " the *Irish* ought to have submitted to the
 " Parliament then in being---and that the
 " chief Delinquents, or their Confede-
 " rates, would be so prevalent a Faction
 " in the next Parliament, that they would
 " be able, and, doubtless, would clear all
 " the Popish Party, how guilty soever,
 " and condemn all the Protestants, how
 " innocent soever?

Ch. The humble Proposal of the *Irish* Agents, at that Time, to his Majesty was, first, that a *Free Parliament* might be called, and afterwards, that a *due Enquiry* might be therein made into the Murders, and Cruelties committed of either side, during this Rebellion; now how a *Free Parliament* should have a *prevailing Faction* in it, that would condemn the *Innocent*, and acquit the *Guilty*; or what other fairer Course could possibly be taken by any People to come at the Truth of this, or any other National Affair, is hard

to be conceiv'd. As for the Parliament, then in being in *Ireland*, it was notoriously (like that in *England*, with which it was in strict League) a prevailing Faction against the King; and indeed against all the *Irish* demanding this Enquiry; who by Attainders, and Outlawries, were then entirely excluded from their Seats in both Houses. But what Excuse can you make for the Accusers of these *Irish* Papists having so often caused to be rejected the Petitions of these People to his Majesty and Council in *England*, to have those Murders enquired into, even after the Restoration? When these Papists were so far from being a prevailing Faction in the Parliament, which was call'd on the 8th of *May* 1661, in *Dublin*, that there was but o "one Roman Catholic in each " House on the first Day of the Session;" and, effectually to prevent the coming in of any more, and to turn out even these two, they made an order in the P House of Lords, that every Member thereof should receive the Sacrament from the Hands of their Speaker, Primate *Bramhal*; " and

o E. of Orrery's State Let. v. i. p. 35, 36. * *Borl. Red. of Irel.* p. 265.

“q another, in the Lower House, to administer the Oath of Supremacy to all it's Members.”

Diff. But this was not done with a View to fix the Imputation of these Massacres on the *Irish*, for I don't find that any such Matter was then brought before them.

Cb. It was done with that View, and with another, more profitable one, which they knew would result from it.

Diff. I don't understand you.

Cb. The Business of that Parliament, at least, his Majesty's Intention in calling it, was the *Settlement of Ireland*; in order to which, it was proposed, that such of the *Irish* Papists (who had come in upon the Peace of 1648) should be restored to their Estates, as to his Majesty, and that Parliament seem'd worthy of such Favour; out of which Number those in particular were directly, and expressly, excluded by the *Irish* themselves, who were charged with, and convicted of, the committing, or encouraging, any of these Murders.

¹ *Orrer. Stat. Let. ubi supra.*
the Peace of 1648.

² See the Artic. of

Now those *English*, who by the sole gift of *Cromwell*, and the *Regicide Party*, had been, for some Years, possessed of these Estates of the *Irish*, (and of whom both Houses of that Parliament were almost intirely composed) in order effectually to prevent their having such enquiry carryed on (which they still earnestly desired) in a Parliamentary way; and to put it, as much as they could, out of their Power to wipe off those Calumnies, which they had fix'd upon them, and which they then most industriously spread in both Kingdoms, thereby to render them odious in the Opinion of all good Men, and entirely unworthy of his Majesty's Grace and Favour; those *English* I say, at that Juncture, sitting in the Parliament of *Ireland*, took the Methods before mentioned to exclude them, for ever, and all those of their Religion, from their Seats in both Houses; by which Means those poor People (whose Loyalty and strict adherence to his Majesty in his Exile (their greatest Enemies have witnessed to) were not only kept out of their

Orrer. State Let.

Estates,

Estates, but also had the Brand of Treason, and Murder, more deeply imprinted upon them.

Diff. But, what say you to the numerous Depositions, given in upon Oath, to prove the Reality of these Murders, perpetrated by the *Irish* Papists on the *British* Protestants, during that Rebellion?

Ch. I say, that those Depositions were the very things, which these *Irish* Papists so often prest, and challenged, their Enemies to submit to a fair, and public Scrutiny; and I must further say, that so honest, and so often repeated, a Challenge, could not have been declined by these Enemies, thro' any other Motive, but a Conscioufness, that there was no Truth in them---besides, the Characters of those Authors, who first published them, are such, and the Passages related in them so manifestly incredible, that I am amazed every Protestant of sense is not ashamed to quote them.

Diff. Pray who are those Authors, whose Characters you are pleased to make so free with?

Ch. The first, and principal, in Malice, as well as Time, were, I think, Sir *John Temple*, and Doctor *Edward Borlace*; of whom, the former, being a Privy Councillor, and Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, during that Rebellion, was so much interested in the Condemnation of the *Irish*, both in point of Fortune, and Character, that that Consideration alone is sufficient to invalidate, or at least render suspicious, his own, and every other Testimony, he hath brought against them; and as for the Latter, Doctor *Nelson* has past this severe Censure upon him: t “ besides the
 “ nearness of his Relation to one of the
 “ Lords Justices (Sir *John Borlace*, whose
 “ Son he was) and his being openly and
 “ avowedly a *Favourer* of the *Faction*, and
 “ of the *Men*, and *Actions* of these times
 “ (the *English Rebels*) he is an Author of
 “ such strange Inconsistency, that his Book
 “ is rather a *Paradox*, than an His-
 “ tory.”

Diff. But what are the Passages, sworn to in these Depositions, which you are pleased to call manifestly incredible?

Ch. Not to trouble you, or my self, with the Recital of many of those *horrid Falsheeds*, which have been sworn to in these Depositions, as they have been communicated to us in *Temple's*, and *Borlace's lying, and infamous Legends*, can any thing be more ridiculous, or incredible than the few following Passages, which we find in them? *viz.* “^u that a
 “ Proctor to a Minister, altho’ he was
 “ diversely wounded, his *Belly ript up*,
 “ and his *Entrails taken out, and left a-*
 “ *bove a Yard from him, Bled not at*
 “ *all, until he was removed?* That w an
 “ *Irish Rebel thrust thrice at a young Wo-*
 “ *man's naked Body with his Sword*
 “ *drawn, and yet never pierced her Skin?*
 “ and that x hundreds of the *Ghosts* of
 “ the *Protestants*, that were drowned by
 “ *Rebels* at *Portnadown Bridge*, were
 “ seen wandering about that Place, and
 “ heard crying for *Revenge.*”

Diff. And have these things been sworn to in those Depositions?

* *Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebel.* p. 88. * *Id. ib.*
 p. 124. * *Id. ib.* p. 125.

Ch.

Ch. They have, and by pretended Eye Witnesses too.---And now, pray tell me, since Passages, thus manifestly false, and incredible, have been *solemnly sworn to*, on this Occasion, by pretended *Eye Witnesses*, what are we to think of so many other Affidavits, in that History, (which are by far the greater Number) taken on *Hearsay*, or *private Belief* only, and from the y low-est, and most prejudiced of the People?

Diff.

Some of these set only their Marks to their Examinations, and consequently swore whatever *the Clerks* or *their Masters*, were pleased to read to them. But of these Examinations in general, the Earl of *Castlehaven* positively affirms that, in them “ hundreds are mentioned, as then “ murdered, that lived many Years after. Nay some “ (adds his Lordship) even this Day (1684) alive, and “ that there were not the twentieth Part of the Cruelties “ (committed on the *English*,) of what is generally re- “ ported. *Mem. p. 28, 29.*

The Author of the Collection of some of the Murders committed on the *Irish*, printed *London 1662*, averreth as a known Truth, “ that at the Tryal of *Qualifications*, or “ * *Court of Claims* at *Athlone*, where the Book called the “ BLACK BOOK, which contained these *Examinations*, be- “ ing produced, the same was so falsified in most particu- “ lars, as well by the *Witnesses* themselves, who were “ pretended to have been duly sworn, as also by the *Per- sons said to have been murdered*, who were then, and “ are yet (says my Author) living, that the said Book “ was, for *Shame*, layed aside, as *no Evidence*; and several Persons, who had taken *Examinations*, touching “ these Murders, have frequently since acknowledged the

* In *Cromwell's* Time.

falsity

Diff. I shall be better prepared to answer that, and all your other Questions, when we meet next ; but I must take the Liberty to tell you, before we part, that you have to Day so zealously pleaded the Cause of the *Rebellious Irish Papists*, that I suspect you are not so good a *Protestant* at the Bottom, as I would have you to be.

Cb. I don't remember, that I have advanced a single Fact in this Controversy, that has not the Sanction of *Protestant Authority* to support it. And as for my own particular, as a Member of the *Church of Ireland*, by Law Established, I think my self obliged to embrace *Truth*, wherever I find it ; and not only to protest against the Errors of *Papists*, but those of *Protestants* too, especially such *Errors* as are injurious to others, even to *Papists* themselves.

Diff. But you must own, at least, that such Sentiments, as you have express'd, of

“ *falsity* of the Matters publish'd by them, as being had
 “ from the Information of those, who, by the hurry of
 “ the Times, and their *own* *frights*, were so transported,
 “ that they *swore* *all* *their* *Neighbours*, whom they left
 “ behind them, were murdered, whereas *all* or *most* of
 “ them, were afterwards *found* *living*. Pref.

this

this Affair, were never yet entertained (and I hope they never will be) by any modern *Protestant Patriot*.

Cb. To shew you how much you are mistaken in that particular, I shall conclude by giving you Sentiments of one of the best, and wisest, *Protestant Patriots*, on this occasion, that either this, or any other, Nation, was ever blest with ;
 “ Granting (says Doctor *Swift*) Po-
 “ pery to have many more *Errors*, than
 “ any other Branch of *Sectaries* ; let us
 “ examine the *Actions* of both, as they
 “ have each affected the Peace of these
 “ *Kingdoms*, with allowance for the short
 “ *Time* which the *Sectarys* had to act in,
 “ who are in a Manner, *but of Yesterday*,
 “ the *Papists*, in the Time of King *James*
 “ the *Ild*, used all Endeavours to esta-
 “ blish their *Superstition* ; wherein they
 “ fail’d, by the united power of *English*
 “ *Church Protestants*, with the Prince of
 “ *Orange’s* Assistance. But it cannot be
 “ asserted, that those *biggoted Papists* had
 “ the least Design to depose or murder
 “ their *King*, much less to abolish *Kingly*

* *Queries relating to the Sacramental Test*, written 1732.

“ *Government* ; nor was it their Interest,
 “ or Inclination to attempt either.”

“ On the other Side, the *Puritans*,
 “ who had almost from the Beginning of
 “ *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, been a per-
 “ petual *Thorn in the Church's Side*, join-
 “ ing with the *Scotch Enthusiasts*, in the
 “ Time of *King Charles the First*, were
 “ the principal Cause of the Irish Rebel-
 “ lion, and Massacre, by distressing that
 “ Prince, and making it impossible for
 “ him to send over timely Succours. And,
 “ after that pious Prince had satisfied his
 “ *Parliament* in every single Point com-
 “ plained of, the same *Sectaries*, by
 “ poisoning the Minds and Affections of
 “ the People, with the most false and
 “ wicked Representations of their King,
 “ were able, in the Compass of a few
 “ Years, to embroil the three Nations in
 “ a *Bloody Rebellion*, at the Expence of
 “ many thousand Lives; to turn the
 “ *kingly Power* into *Anarchy*; to mur-
 “ der their Prince in the Face of the
 “ World; and (in their own Stile) to
 “ destroy the *Church Root and Branch*.”

“ The Account therefore stands thus.
 “ The *Papists* aimed at one pernicious

“ *Act*, which was to destroy the *Pro-*
 “ *testant Religion*; wherein, by God’s
 “ Mercy, and the Assistance of our *Glo-*
 “ *rious King William*, they absolutely
 “ failed. The *Sectaries* attempted the
 “ three most *Infernal Actions*, that could
 “ possibly enter into the Hearts of Men,
 “ forsaken by God; which were, the
 “ *Murder* of a most *Pious King*, the
 “ *Destruction* of *Monarchy*, and the *Ex-*
 “ *tirpation* of the *Church*; and succeed-
 “ ed in them all.”

Diff. Nothing can be more dangerous to
 this Kingdom, than the throwing out such
 invidious Reflections on any Set of Pro-
 testants in it, whereby that Union, which
 ought ever to subsist among us, is apt to
 be destroyed; and that Alarm lessened,
 which cannot be too great, and lively in
 us, from the Strength, and Number of
 our common Enemies, the *Papists*, in Ire-
 land.

Cb. As to the Number of *Papists* in Ire-
 land, the same *Great Patriot* asserts,
 a “ that it is always magnified, in Pro-
 “ portion to the Zeal, or Politics, of the
 “ Speaker, or Writer; but it is a gross
 “ *Impo-*

“ *Imposition* upon common Reason (adds
 “ he) to terrify us with their Strength.
 “ For *Popery*, under the Circumstances
 “ it lyes in this Kingdom, altho’ it be
 “ offensive and inconvenient enough, &c.
 “ is not properly *dangerous* in that Sense,
 “ as some would have us take it; be-
 “ cause it is universally hated by every
 “ Party of a different religious Profession.
 “ It is the Contempt of the *Wise*, the
 “ best *Topic* for *Clamours* of *designing*
 “ *Men*; but the *real Terror* only of *Fools*.
 “ The landed popish Interest in *England*,
 “ far exceeds that among us, even in
 “ Proportion to the Wealth, and Extent,
 “ of each Kingdom. The little that re-
 “ mains here is daily dropping into *Pro-*
 “ *testant Hands*, by Purchase, or Descent;
 “ and that affected Complaint of *counter-*
 “ *feit Converts*, will fall, with the Cause
 “ of it in half a Generation; unless it
 “ be raised, or kept alive, as a continual
 “ *Fund* of *Merit* and *Eloquence*. The
 “ Papists are wholly disarmed. They
 “ have neither Courage, Leaders, Money,
 “ or *Inclinations*, to rebel. They want
 “ every Advantage, which they former-
 “ ly possessed, to follow that Trade, and
 K 2 “ wherein

“ wherein, even with these Advantages
 “ they always miscarried. They appear
 “ very *easy*, and *satisfied* under the Con-
 “ nivance which they enjoyed during
 “ the whole last Reign; nor ever scrupled
 “ to *reproach* another ^b *Party*, under
 “ which they pretend to have suffered so
 “ much Severity.”----- Nay, Sir, do not
 knit your Brows so angrily at me; the
 same excellent Writer goes further, and
 in another ^c Place declares, “ that the
 “ *Papists*, in general, of any Substance,
 “ or Estates, and their *Priests*, almost
 “ universally, are what we call *Whigs*,
 “ in the Sense, which by that Word is
 “ generally understood. They feel (says
 “ he) the *Smart*, and see the *Scars*, of
 “ their former *Wounds*; and very well
 “ know, that they must be made a *Sacri-*
 “ *fice* to the least Attempt towards a
 “ Change.”----- But I will here put an
 End to a Conversation, which I find so
 very displeasing to you. Farewel.

^b The Tory Ministry in Queen Anne's Reign.

^c Humble Address to both Houses of Parliament,
 written about the Year 1724.

APPENDIX.

N U M B. I.

IN *Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell*, p. 142. &c. *Dublin* printed 1736 by *Rhames* for *Gunn*, we find these Words concerning the following Remonstrance:
 “ These (Rebels) of the County of *Cavan*
 “ seem'd to see their Error, and apprehend
 “ their Danger; so they came to Bishop
 “ *Bedell* as the fittest Man to interpose for
 “ them—The Petition that they Signed,
 “ and sent up to the *Lords Justices*, and
 “ the *Council*, was too well Penned, to
 “ come from those that set their Hands
 “ to it; *it was drawn by the Bishop*, who
 “ put their matter into his own Words.
 “ therefore I shall Insert it here, *though*
 “ it gives the *best Colours* to their *Rebellion*
 “ of any of all their Papers that ever I
 “ saw.”

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE the

LORDS JUSTICES and COUNCIL.

*The humble Remonstrance of the Gentry,
and Commonality, of the County of
CAVAN, of their Grievances, common
with other Parts of the Kingdom of
IRELAND.*

WHEREAS we his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, of his Highness's Kingdom of *Ireland*, have, of long Time *Groaned* under many *grievous Pressures*, occasioned by the *rigorous Government* of such placed over Us, as respected more the Advancement of their *own private Fortunes*, than the *Honour* of his Majesty, or the Welfare of us his Subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared ourselves to his Highness, by our Agents, sent from the Parliament, the *Representative Body* of this Kingdom; notwithstanding which, we find our selves of late *threatened* with far *greater*, and more *grievous Vexations*, either with *Captivity* of our *Consciences*, our losing our *Lawful Liberties*, or utter *Extirpation* from our
Native

Native *Seats*, without any just Grounds given, on our Parts, to alter his Majesty's Goodness so long continued unto us; of all which we find *great Cause of Fears* in the Proceeding of our Neighbour Nations, and do see it already attempted upon by *Certain Petitioners* for the like Course to be taken in this Kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a *Compulsory way*; so as Rumours have caused *Fears of Invasion* from other Parts, to the dissolving the Bond of mutual Agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several Subjects of this Kingdom, and whereby all other his Majesty's Dominions have been inlinked in One. For the preventing, therefore, of such Evils, growing upon *Us* in this Kingdom, *We* have, for the *Preservation* of his *Honour*, and our own *Liberties*, thought fit to take into our Hands, for his Highness's *Use* and *Service*, such *Forts*, and other Places of Strength, as, coming into the Possession of others, might prove a *Disadvantageous*, and tend, to the utter undoing of the Kingdom. And, *We* do hereby declare, that herein *We* harbour not the least Thought of *Disloyalty* towards his Majesty,

or

or purpose any Hurt to his *Highness's* Subjects, in their Possessions, Goods, or Liberties, only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make Remonstrance to his Majesty for us, of all our *Grievances*, and *just Fears*, that they may be removed, ; and such a Course settled by the *Advice of the Parliament of Ireland*, whereby *the Liberty of our Consciences* may be secured to *Us*, and we eased of other Burthens in *Civil Government*. As for the Mischiefs, and Inconveniencies, that have already happened, through the Disorder of the *common sort of People* against the *English Inhabitants*, or any other, *We*, with the *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, and such others, of the several *Counties of this Kingdom* are most willing, and ready, to use our, and their best Endeavours in causing *Restitution*, and *Satisfaction*, to be made, as, in part, *We have already done*.

An Answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present Expedition, as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the Inconveniency of the *Barbarousness*, and *Incivility* of the *Commonality*, who have committed

mitted many Outrages, *without any Order, Consenting, or Privy of ours.* All which we leave to your Lordships most grave Wisdom, and shall humbly Pray.

Burnett adds (ib.) “but all this came “to nothing”. Altho’ we learn from *Borlace’s* History of this Rebellion, Fol. 47. that this Remonstrance was presented so early as the 6th of *November, 1641.*

N U M B. II.

THE following is taken from the *Mercurius Hibernicus*, written, in the Year 1643, by Doctor *Howel*, who was the King’s Historiographer, a *Protestant*, and an *Englishman*: And whose account of the Rise, and Occasion, of this *Rebellion*, cannot, therefore be suspected of any *Partiality* to the *Irish*.

“The *Irish* hearing, how well their next Neighbours (*the Scots*) had sped by way of Arms, it filled them full of Thoughts, and Apprehensions of Fear, and Jealousy, that the *Scot*, (than whom no Nation upon Earth is in that Perfection, and with greater *Antipathy* hated by the

L *Irish*)

Irish) would prove more *powerful* hereby ; and consequently more able to do them *Hurt*, and to attempt ways to restrain them of that *Connivance*, which they were allowed in point of *Religion*.——Moreover they entered into Consideration that they also had sundry *Grievances*, and *Grounds of Complaint*, both touching their *Estates*, and *Consciences*, which they pretended to be far greater than those of the *Scots*. For they fell to think that, *if the Scot* was suffered to introduce a *New Religion*, it was Reason they should not be *punished* in the Exercise of their *Old*, which they *Glory* never to have altered. And, for *Temporal Matters*, wherein the *Scot* had no *Grievance* at all to speak of, the new *Plantations*, which had been lately afoot, to be made in *Connaught*, and other Places ; the *concealed Lands*, and *defective Titles*, which were daily found out : The *new Customs*, which were imposed : And the *Incapacity* they had to any *Preferment*, or *Office*, in *Church and State*, with other Things, they conceived to be *Grievances* of a far greater Nature, and that deserved Redress much more than any the *Scot* had. To this end they

they sent over *Commissioners* to attend this Parliament in *England* with certain Propositions ; but they were dismissed hence with a short, and *unsavory Answer* : which bred worse Blood in the Nation, than was formerly gathered. And this, with that leading *Case of the Scot*, may be said to be the *first Incitements* that made them *Rise*.

—Add hereunto, that, the *Irish* understanding, with what *Acrimony* the *Roman Catholics* in *England* were proceeded against since the sitting of our Parliament, and what *further Designs* were on Foot against them, and not only against them, but for ranversing the *Protestant Religion*, which some *shallowbrained Schismatics* throw into the same Scales with Popery, they thought it high time for them to forecast what should become of them, and how they should be *handled* in point of *Conscience*, when a new *Deputy*, of the *Parliament's Election, Approbation* at least, should come over. Therefore they fell to consult of some means of *timely prevention*. And this was another Motive, and it was a shrewd one, which pushed on the *Irish* to take up *Arms*. 2 L —Cut

—Out of these Premisses, it is easy for any common Understanding, not *transported with Passion*, and *private Interest*, to draw this Conclusion; that they, who complied with the *Scot* in his *Insurrection*; they, who dismissed the *Irish Commissioners* with such a short unpolite Answer &c. may be *justly* said to have been the *true Causes* of the late *Insurrection* of the *Irish*.”

N U M B. III,

THE following is an Extract out of the *Brief Narrative*, printed, and published by the *Irish Papists* in *London*, in 1660, and addressed by *Peter Walsh*, in 1664, to the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who was, almost from the beginning of this Rebellion, employed, by his Majesty, to suppress it; being Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Army in that Kingdom. As no Person could possibly be better acquainted, than his Excellency, with the Motives, that stirred up the *Irish* to this Rebellion, so it cannot be supposed, that, if this Nar-
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rative were not strictly true, in every particular, it would ever have been addressed to him, by his *Creature*, and *Dependent*, *Peter Walsb*; or, at least, that said *Walsb* would have escaped his Grace's severest Censure for it; which, however, 'tis plain, he did, by his Grace's continuing his Favour, and Patronage, to him for many Years. after.

--- *Audi alteram Partem.*

“ Before they (the *Irish*) fell from their Obedience, to the Government, Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices, at a *Public Entertainment*, before many Witnesses, did positively declare, that, within a Twelvemonth, *no Catholic* should be seen in *Ireland*. Many Hands were sought, and thousands were found to Subscribe ^d a *Petition*, tending to the introducing of a *severe Persecution* against *Catholics*, who were the far greater number of the Inhabitants of *Ireland*; and the Menace of an *Invasion* of ^e a *Scottish Army*, of which Men at that time did frequently

^d See *Castelhav. Mem.* ^e See *Howell's Merc. Hibernic. Remonst.* of the County of *Cavan*, &c.

frequently discourse, bred *frightful apprehensions*. So as these, and other Grounds of Suspicion, being improved by such among them, whose particular Interests could be most favoured, and better advanced in *unquiet Times*, layed the *Foundation* of that *Rebellion*: But even these Men, at that time, when the Lords Justices did not appear to be prepared for Resistance, by their Remonstrance, humbly beg'd their Grievances might be redressed, by the Advice of the two Houses of Parliament, then met at *Dublin*; But the Lords Justices, (who, by their Words and Actions, not only expressed their *unwillingness* to stop the further Growth of these *Distempers*, but meant to ^t increase them, and were often heard to *wish that the Number were greater of such as became Criminal*) by proroguing the Parliament, made them desperate. However, the Nation, by their Representatives, in the two Days, which were only allowed them to sit, Husbanded their time so, as to leave to Posterity a ^g Monument of

^t See *Castle. Mem.*
 Rebellion.

^g See *Borl. Hist. of the Irish*

of their Aversion to such Attempts, by declaring that those Men had Traiterously, and Rebelliously taken Arms ; and offering to employ their Lives, and Fortunes, in reducing them to their Obedience, if they might be permitted then to fit. But this was denyed them : And, by a strange change from the ancient Form of Government, a Parliament then sitting was Prorogued, whereas our Ancestors, upon a far less occasion than quietting so high Distempers, were usually called upon to Assist the King with their Advice. To this may be added, that the ^h Marquis of *Ormond*, proposed at the Council-Board, the raising of five thousand Men in the Space of three Weeks, if he might be authorized to do so ; with which Strength he undertook to dissipate those, then, weak beginnings of the ensuing Mischiefs, and to prevent their farther Growth, *but was refused it*. So as thus far we may observe, who they were that *widened the Wound*, instead of Staunching the *Blood*.

This Foundation being then layed, that, which at first was 'but a *spark*, and might be

^a Afterwards Duke, to whom this Narrative was Addressed by *Walsh* in 1604.

be easily *quenched*, began to *Flame*: And Freedom of *Rapine* having suddenly drawn Numbers together, the *unrepressed Conspirators* became a *formidable Army*, and Besieged *Tredah*, passing the River *Boyne*, which was the *Rubicon* of the *Pale*, and had, in all former *Rebellions*, been maintained with their *Blood*, by those *Ancient English Collonies* Planted there. Now it was that the *Times* began to favour the *Design of the Lords Justices*, and their *Party in the Council*, which was as forward, as they, to Foment the *Distractions*. For the *Ulster Army* lying in the *Bowels* of the Country, the *Forces* being not yet come out of *England*, and the *Natives* themselves, both unarmed, and distrusted by the State, they were forced, at first, by their *regular Contribution*, to prevent the *Desolation*, which would have followed their *Refusal* to supply them. Hereupon such *Contributors* began to be looked upon, and charactered, as Men fallen from the *Government*,ⁱ and a *Party* that was sent from *Dublin*, having killed at *Santry*

ⁱ See *Temple's Apology* for this Massacre, *Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*.

(but

(but three Miles distant from thence,) some innocent Husbandmen, among whom there were two *Protestants*, and carried their *Heads*, as in Triumph, to the City, the Neighbour-Inhabitants, alarmed thereat, had recourse to such Weapons as first came to Hand, and gathered in a *Body*. Whereupon the *Lords Justices* set forth a *Proclamation*, in the nature of a ^k *safe Conduct*; by which, these so in Arms, and Mr. *King* of *Clontarf* by special Name, had five Days respite to come in, and present their *Grievances*. But, before three Nights, of the time prefixed, were expired, Mr. *King's* House was Pillaged, and burned by the direction of the *Lords Justices*. Not long after, supplies being arrived, out of *England*, and the Siege of *Tredah* raised, and consequently the Force removed, which necessitated the Inhabitants to comply with the *Ulster Army*, the Nobility, and Gentry of the *Pale* prevailed with Sir *John Read* (his Majesty's Sworn Servant, a stranger to the Country, unengaged, and an Eye-Witness

* *Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.* ! See the same, and *Temp. Hist. Irish Rebellion.*

of their proceedings, then upon his Journey to *England*,) to take the Pains to present their *Remonstrance* to the late *King*, of ever blessed Memory, and to beg Pardon for what they were thus compelled to Act. But he, poor Gentleman, coming to *Dublin*, was apprehended, and not concealing the Message, intrusted with him, was put to the *m Rack*; the most part of the Questions then asked him in that *Torment* being no other, than such, as might lead him to *accuse* the *King* and *Queen*, to be Authors, and *Fomentors* of that Rebellion. Moreover, the two Houses of *Parliament* in *England*, for the better inducing the *Rebels* to repent of these wicked Attempts, commended to the *Lords Justices*, according to the Power granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesty's *Gracious Pardon*ⁿ to all such, as within a convenient time, &c. should return to their *Obedience*. But the *Lords Justices* (notwithstanding such Order, and his Majesty's *Gracious Pleasure* signified to that Effect) by their *Proclamation*, dated

ⁿ See *Castlbar. Mem.* ⁿ See *Borl. and Temp. Hist. of the Ir. Reb.* ^o See *Borl. and Temp. Hist. of the Irish Reb.*

in *November, 1641*,^o limited such his Majesty's, and the Parliament of *England*, their *favourable, and general Intentions*, to the Inhabitants of a few Counties, provided always they were *no Freeholders*; and afforded them no longer time than *ten Days*, after the *Proclamation*, to receive benefit thereby. But, notwithstanding these *Restrictions*, the Lord of *Dunferry* Sir *John Neterville, Patrick Barnwall*, of *Kilbrue*, and many others, who had, notice of his Majesty's gracious Inclination towards the Nation, and the Parliament of *England's* order in favour of them, submitted to the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Army, who recommended them to the *Lords Justices*, intimating, that the good Usage to be extended to them, would have an influence on many others, and be a great Motive to quiet the Distempers, which then began to spread. But the *Lords Justices*, whose Design was not to be carryed on with *Mercy*, and *Indulgence*, to prevent *Submissions, Impri-soned, and Indicted*, by a *Jury*, which

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did

did not consist of *Freeholders*, these so *Submitting*, and put the said Mr. *Barnwal*, of the Age of sixty-six Years, to the P Torture of the *Rack*. This notwithstanding, the Noblemen, and Gentry, inhabiting the Country, next to *Dublin*, applied themselves humbly, by their Letter to the *Lords Justices*; which, when the Earl of *Castle-Haven*, a Nobleman of *English* Birth, (who freely, before that time, had Access to *Dublin*,) came to present, he was made a Prisoner. Wherefore, when the Nation observed, that their Advice in *Parliament* was not only thought unnecessary, but themselves involved in a *general Distrust*.

That neither the *Parliament's*, nor the Marquis of *Ormond's*, offer to Suppress the *Rebellion*, would be accepted.

That the enforced complying of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of the *Pale*, with a *powerful Army* (which was Master of their *Lives*, and *Fortunes*) was imputed to them, as a *malicious Aversion* from the *English Government*;

* See *Castlehav. Mem.*

That the *Blood* of innocent Husbandmen was drawn, and the *Heads* of Men were grown an *acceptable Spectacle* in *Dublin*;

That the *public Faith* was broken, and Men's Houses (particularly enabled to Claim benefit by it) Pillaged and Burned;

That all ways were obstructed, by which they might implore his Majesty's Mercy, and represent their Conditions;

That the favourable Intentions of the *Parliament of England*, and his Majesty's *gracious Pardon*, which was meant should extend to *all*, save such as were *guilty of Blood*, was so *Limited by them*, as *no Eſtated Men* could receive Benefit by it;

That those, who, notwithstanding these Restrictions, cast themselves freely upon his Majesty's Mercy, were Imprisoned, Indicted, and one of them Rack-ed.

That the ⁹ *Earl of Castle-haven* might have found it a Capital Crime to mediate in their behalf, if he had not made

⁹ See the Particulars of his Escape, from the Castle of *Dublin*, in his Memoirs.

his Escape after *twenty Weeks Imprisonment* ;

That the King's Sworn Servant was *Racked* ; and his Ministers, whose Duty it was to have been zealous for the *Honour* of their Master, endeavoured to asperse it, and to render him, and his Royal Consort, *odious to his People*, by striving to extort, *from a Tortured Man*, some Testimony, by which they might be accused of raising, and Fomenting, that *Rebellion* ;

When these, and many other Arguments of this kind, which (least we should be too prolix) we omit, had convinced the *Catholics of Ireland*, that the *Lords Justices*, and that Part of the *Council* which adhered to them, became *unfaithful to his Majesty*, and had designed the *Ruin* of that *Nation*, and the *Extirpation* of their *Religion*.

That *Law*, which moves the Hand, by interposing it self, to bear off a Stroak, aimed at the Head, convened an Assembly of those, who were exposed to such imminent Dangers, in which they modelled a *Government*, in order to *their natural Defence*, obliging themselves by such

such an *Oath* to his *Majesty*, his *Heires* and *Succeffors*, as well shewed their *Affection to the Crown*, and *their unalterable Resolutions* to maintain *his Majesty's Rights*, and to follow *his Fortune*.

Between these *divided Governments*, there have been *Battles Fought*, *Cities and Forts Besieged*, and *much Christian Blood spilt*; which will one Day lye at some *Men's Doors*; and who these are, the *Eternal Wisdom* best knows, and the *Reader* is left *Free* to determine.

N U M B. IV.

THE *Protestant* Editor of the following *Collection* (who *Betrays* no small *Enmity* to the *Irish Papists*) in his *Preface* to *Clarendon's History* of the *Irish Rebellion*, *London* printed 1720, has the following *Words* concerning it; "who
" were the first *Beginners* of those *bar-*
" *barous Murders*, and *horrid Massacres*,
" committed in that *Kingdom*, (*Ireland*)
" is easily determined by comparing the
" *Accounts* on both *sides*." Now I shall only desire the *Reader* to Mark the first *Article* of the ensuing *Account*, and to
compare

compare the whole with the other Account, which he will find printed with it in the Appendix of the aforesaid History; as also at the End of *Borlase's* History of this Rebellion.

The 9th, and 10th, Acts agreed upon in the general Congregation of the *Roman Catholics*, held in *Kilkenny* on the 10th, 11th, and 13th, Days of *May* 1642, relating to these *Murders* are as follow.

Act the 9th. "Let a faithfull Inventory be made in every Province of the *Murders, Burnings, and other Cruelties*, which are committed by the *Puritan Enemies*, with a Quotation of the Place, Day, Cause, manner and Persons, and other Circumstances, Subscribed by one of public Authority."

Act the 10th. "In every Parish, let a faithfull, and *Sworn*, Messenger be appointed, whereby *such Cruelties*, and other Affairs, may be written, and sent to the Neighbouring Places; and likewise from one Province to another; let such things be written for the Comfort, Instruction, and Carefulness of the People."

Borlase's

Borlace's History of the Irish Rebellion, fol. 123.

This Collection was first published in *London*, in the Year 1662. The Author's frequent, candid, and public, Appeals to things openly transacted, and to ^r Enemies themselves, then living, and well known, is a strong proof that what he relates is real matter of Fact; and there is yet a stronger inducement to think it so, because it has never yet been proved to be otherwise: Nor, as far as I have learned, even attempted to be proved.

^r Sir *Audley Mervyn*, Sir *Robert Hannab*, (Lady *Mountrath's* Father,) several General, and other, Officers, then, and many Years after, alive.

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A Collection of some of the Massacres, and Murders committed on the Irish in Ireland, since the 23d of October, 1641.

County of Antrim.

1641. **A** Bout the beginning of *November*, the *English*, and *Scotch* Forces in *Knockfergus* Murdered in one Night, all the Inhabitants of the Territory of the Island of *Gee*, to the Number of above 3000 Men, Women, and Children, all innocent Persons, at a time when none of the *Catholics* of that County were in Arms, or Rebellion. Note, that this was the first Massacre committed in *Ireland* of either side.

Mr. *Mac. Naghten* having built a small Fortrefs in the said County, to preserve himself, and his Followers from Outrages, untill he understood what the cause of the then Rebellion was ; as soon as Colonel *Campbell*, came near, with part of the Army, he sent to let him know, that he would

would come to him with his Party, which he did, and they were next day Murdered to the number of 80, by Sir *John Clotworthy*, now Lord *Masareen's*, Soldiers.

About the same time, 100 poor Women, and Children, were Murdered in one Night, at a Place call'd *Balliaghbiun*, by Direction of the *English*, and *Scotch* Officers commanding that County.

County of Derry.

1641. Some 300 Men, Women, and Children of the *Irish*, having freely come under the Protection of the Garrison of *London-Derry*, were strip'd, plunder'd, and kill'd by the said Garrison.

1644. Mr. *Morris, Mac. Daniel*, natural Son of the late Earl of *Antrim*, was Hang'd at *Coleraine*, by the Governor's Orders, notwithstanding he had Colonel *Michael Jones's* Pass.

County of Down.

1641. The Burgesses, and Inhabitants, of the Town of *Newry*, meeting the *English* Army on their March to Besiege the Castle of the said Town, were receiv'd into protection; and, after Quarter given to the Garrison of the said Castle,

the said Inhabitants, and the Soldiers of the said Garrison, to the Number of 500, and upwards, Men, Women, and Children, were brought on the Bridge of *Newry*, and thrown into the River, and such of them, as endeavour'd to escape by Swimming, were murdered.

County of Donegall.

1641. About the 20th of *November*, Sir *William Steward* commanded the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County to joyn with his Forces in opposition to the Rebels, and accordingly they came to the place appointed, where Capt. *Cunningham*, with a Party of the said Sir *William's* Regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them, fell upon the Inhabitants with his Arm'd Soldiers, and kill'd very many of them; among whom were *Owen Mac Sberney*, *Morris O'Farey*, and *Donagh O'Callan*, Gentlemen of Quality, and Estates.

About the same time Capt. *Fleming*, and other Officers of the said Regiment, commanding a Party, smothered to Death 220 Women and Children, in two Caves. And about the same time also the said Capt.

Cunningham

Cunningham Murdered about 63 Women and Children, in the Isles of *Ross*.

1641. The Governour of *Letter-kenny* gathered together on a *Sunday* Morning, 53 poor People, most of them Women, and Children, and caused them to be thrown off the Bridge into the River, and drown'd them all.

1641. In *November*, one *Reading* Murdered the Wife, and three Children of *Shane O'Morgby* in a place call'd *Bally-kenny* of *Ramulton*, and after her Death cut off her Breasts with his Sword.

1641. 1642. The Garrisons of *Rapho*, *Drombo*, *Lifford*, and *Castle Raghaen*, slaughtered no less than 1500 of the poor neighbouring Inhabitants, never in Arms, and three Persons were chiefly noted among them for their barbarous Cruelty, by name *James Graham*, *Henry Dungan*, and *Robert Cunningham*, commonly call'd the Killer of Old Women.

1641. 1642. About 2000 poor Labourers, Women and Children, of the Barony of *Terbu*, were Massacred by the Garrisons of *Ballashany*, and *Donegal*, and Lieutenant *Thomas Poe*, an Officer among them, coming under colour of Friendship to

to visit a Neighbour that lay sick in his Bed, and to whom he owed Money, carry'd a naked Dagger under his Cloak, which (whilst he seem'd to bow towards the sick Man in a friendly manner, asking how he did) he thrust it into his Body, and told his Wife her Husband should be no longer sick.

1650. In the Month of *June*, about 3000 Horse and Foot of his Majesty's Army, being defeated near *Letter-kenny*, by the *English* Rebels, adhering to *Cromwell*, most of the principal Officers of the said Party, taken Prisoners in the Battle, were kill'd in Cold Blood, by order of Sir *Charles Coote*, late Lord of *Mountrath*, notwithstanding they had Quarter from the Officers who took them Prisoners.

County of Monaghan.

1641. Capt. *Townsfley*, Governour of *Maghernecke*, kill'd four Labourers, and a Woman, being under Protection. Capt. *Brouwell*, Governour of *Clunes*, meeting upon the Road with *Marc Charles O'Conolly*, a Gentleman living under his Protection, caused him to be shot to Death. The Solders of the Garrisons of *Dundalk* and *Trim*,

Trim, kill'd no less than 500 Innocent Persons, Women, and Children, in that County.

1641. 1642. The Armies of *Montroe*, and the *Legan*, in their several Marches through that County, slaughtered about 2000 poor Old Men, Women, and Children.

1652. Colonel *Barrow* of *Cromwell's* Army, having taken an Island defended by Lieutenant Colonel *Patrick Mac Mahon* for his Majesty, after killing the said Lieutenant Colonel, and his Soldiers, put all the Women and Children to the Sword, to the number of 80, among whom a Child, of six Years Old, being spared by the Soldiers, was kill'd by order of the said Colonel *Barrow*.

County of Cavan

Marc de la Pool, an *English* Gentleman, having taken Lands in that County some years before the War, invited several of his Friends to come out of *England*, and live with him, who were all Murdered in their Houses by the Army, (only the said *de la Pool*, who was brought into the Town of *Cavan*,) and there hang'd for no other reason, but their being *Roman Catholics*,

tholics, and living among the *Irish*. Sir *Alexander Godren*, and his Lady, both *Scotch*, but *Roman Catholics*, each of them above 70 years Old, were plunder'd of their Goods, and strip'd naked ; and all their Tenants, Servants, and all their Sons Murdered. In the same Year the *English* Forces in this County, drown'd 600 Men, Women, and Children, in, and about, *Butler's Bridge*, no Murders having been committed on any *Protestants* there, altho' in the Pamphlet lately printed, several Murders are said to have been committed in that place.

County of Mayo.

In this County few Murders were committed by either side, tho' the Libel saith, that about 250 *Protestants* were Murdered, whereof at *Bellicke*, 220, whereas not one Person was Murdered there, which the now * Lady of *Mountrath* can Witness ; her Ladyship, and Sir *Robert Hanna*, her Father, with many others, being retreated thither for Security, were all conveyed safe to *Mannor-Hamilton* ; and it is observable, that the said Lady,

* Sir *Charles Coote's* Widow.

and the rest, came to Mr. *Owen O-Rorcke's*, who kept a Garrison at *Drumabier*, for the *Irish*, before they came to *Mannor Hamilton*, whose Brother was Prisoner with *Sir Frederick Hamilton*, and the said *Mr. Rorcke*, having so many Persons of Quality in his Hands, sent to *Sir Frederick* to enlarge his Brother, and that he would convey them all safe to him: But *Sir Frederick*, instead of enlarging his Brother, hang'd him the next Day, which might have well provoked the Gentleman to Revenge, if he had not more Humanity, than could be well expected upon such an Occasion, and in times of so great Confusion; yet he sent them all safe where they desired.

There was a Murder committed near the *Moyn* on 27 *Protestants*, which was all (and that too many) that was committed in that County. *Buchanman*, said to be Buryed alive, was kill'd in a private Quarrel, and he cut off his Adversary's Hand, before himself was kill'd.

*County of Galway, and Province of
Conaught:*

1642. Serjeant *Redmund Bourk*, of the Lord of *Clonmorris's* Foot-Company, and two more, were Hangd by the then Governour of the Fort of *Galway*; the said Lord being then of his Majesty's Army, for which Action no Reparation being given to his Lordship, he pretended it to be the occasion of his Revolt from the Lord Marquis of *Clanricard*. A Party of the Garrison of the said Fort Murdered six People in *Rinveel*, among whom one *Geffery Fitz-Thibot*, Aged about 70 Years, and in a burning Fever, with his Wife, who was Old, were murdered in their Beds; ; which action provoked many of the Neighbours to stand on their Guard against the said Fort.

Richard Bourk, a Colonel in his Majesty's Army, had Quarter given him by some of Colonel *Coote's* Men, he being taken in a Skirmish between Colonel *Grace*, and some of *Cromwell's* Party, and being Prisoner for some time, Colo-
nel

nel *Henry Ingoldsby* caused his Head to be cut off.

1652, 1653. It was a usual Practice with Colonel *Stubbers*, then Governour of *Galway*, and others commanding in said County, to take the People out of their Beds at Night, and sell them for Slaves to the *Indies*, and by Computation sold out of said County above 1000 Souls.

Murders committed in the said County of Galway on Protestants.

1642. It is confess'd, that two *Protestants* were murdered in that County, whereof one was a Minister, as the Libel says, but it is most certain the Lord Marquis of *Clanricard* caused the three Men, who murdered one of them, to be hang'd in Gibbets in three several Places ; and, by his Lordship's Orders, Sir *Roger O-Shaghnessy* hang'd the two Cow-herds who murdered the other. Lord *Clanmorris* having declared against the said Fort for hanging his Serjeant, as above express'd, took Serjeant *Rowlright*, and two or three more of the Soldiers of said Fort, pillag-

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ing a Village near *Galway*, and hang'd *Rowlright*, and the other three.

A barbarous Murder was committed by one *Edward Alta*, an irreligious, prophane Fellow of the County of *Maye*, and his Accomplices, on some *Protestants* at *Shrue*, a place meeting *Galway*, on about 30 Persons; and the Pamphleteer might well remember, that the neighbouring Gentry came, with all Expedition, to rescue the said *Protestants*; and that they did rescue the Bishop of *Killala* (who by the Pamphlet seems to have been murdered) and his Wife and Children, with the most part of the said *Protestants*; and *Bryan Kilkenny*, a Fryar, then Guardian of the Abby of *Ross*, near *Shrue*, was of the first that made haste to that Rescue, and brought the said Bishop's Wife and Children, with several others of the said distress'd *Protestants*, to his Monastery, where they found as much Civility, as was in the said Fryar's Power to give them for several Nights; until Mr. *Burke* of *Castle-Hacket* brought the said Bishop, his Wife, and Family, to his own House, where they wanted nothing he could afford them for some Weeks: The like being done

done by several other neighbouring Gentlemen to the rest of the said Protestants, until they were sent to places of security, by the Lord Marquis of Glauricard's Order; yet the said Fryar hath been these eight Years past, kept a Prisoner for his Function or Calling, without any other Crime laid to his Charge, now being above 80 Years old. And it is observable, that in this County of Galway all the War Time, several Protestant Ministers, viz. Dean York, Mr. Corroyn, Mr. Kelly, and other Ministers, had their Protestant Flocks and Meetings, without Interruption, living among the Irish,

County of Roscommon.

No Murders were committed by any Party in this County, only five Persons at Ballanagada by one Roger O'Connor; and no Murder was committed at Ballaleague, during the War, altho' in the Pamphlet the contrary is express'd; nor nor was any such Man as William Stewart known in that County, nor to have been murdered there, tho' the Abstract sets forth

forth his being murdered in a most barbarous manner.

County of Leitrim.

1641. It was commonly known to all sides how cruel the Governour of *Mannor-Hamilton* was in that County, how he usually invited Gentlemen to dine with him, and hang'd them after Dinner, and caused their Thighs to be broke with Hatchets before Execution. Also the said Governour, being in *Ulster* when the Rebellion broke forth, desired one Mr. *Iraght* (a Gentleman who profess'd much Friendship to him) to do him the Favour to guide him in safety to *Mannor Hamilton* aforesaid, which the Gentleman did, and came near 100 Miles with him, but after being Friendly treated for some Days by the said Governour, he was hang'd without the least Occasion; neither was the Gentleman in the Rebellion, but was hang'd lest he should. The Libel says, three *Protestants* were murdered in this County; but, on due Examination, it will be found there was none.

County

County of Sligoe.

Here is none at this time, who can give any exact Account of the Murders committed in this County, but one remarkable Murder in *Creane's-Castle* in the Town of *Sligoe* the *Irish* had a Party commanded by Major *Richard Burke*, (who after obtaining Quarter to march away) to the Number of about 200 were murdered, rendering the Castle. This Sir *Audley Meryne* knoweth to be true.

County of Dublin.

1641. About the beginning of *November* * five poor Men (whereof two were *Protestants*) coming from the Market of *Dublin*, and lying that Night at *Santry*, three miles from thence, were murdered in their Beds by one Captain *Smith*, and a party of the Garrison of *Dublin*, and their Heads brought next Day in Triumph into the City, which occasioned

* See Sir *John Temple's* Apology for this Massacre in his History of the *Irish Rebellion*.

Luke Nèterville and *George King*, and others of the Neighbours, to write to the Lords Justices to know the Cause of the said murder, whereupon their Lordships issued forth a Proclamation, that within five Days the Gentry should come to *Dublin* to receive Satisfaction, and in the mean while (before the five Days were expired) old *Sir Charles Coote* came out with a party, plundered and burned the Town of *Clontarffe*, distant two miles from *Dublin*, belonging to the said *George King*, nominated in the Proclamation, and kill'd 16 of the Townsmen, and Women, and three sucking Infants. Which unexpected breach of the Proclamation (having deterr'd the Gentlemen from waiting of the Lords Justices) forced many of them to betake themselves to their Defence, and others to abandon their Houses.

In the same Week 56 Men, Women, and Children, of the Village of *Bulloge* (being frighted at what was done at *Clontarffe*) took Boats, and went to Sea, to shun the Fury of a party of Soldiers come out of *Dublin*, under the Command of Colonel *Crafford*; but being pursued by the

the Soldiers in other Boats, were overtaken, and thrown over board. One *Russel*, a Baker in *Dublin*, coming out of the Country, in Company with Mr. *Archbold* of *Gloghram* (who went to take hold of the said Proclamation of the Lords Justices) were both hang'd, and quartered. In *March* a party of Horse, of the Garrison of *Donsoghlin*, murdered 7 or 8 poor People in Protection, Tenants of Mr. *Dillon* of *Humstonne*, having quartered in their Houses the Night before, and receiving such Entertainment as the poor People could afford. About the same time a party of the *English*, quartered at *Mallabyde*, hang'd a Servant of Mr. *Robert Boyne's* at the Plough, and forced a poor Labourer to hang his own Brother; and soon after they hang'd 15 of the Inhabitants of *Swords*, who never bore Arms, in the Orchard of *Mallabyde*, they likewise hang'd a Woman bemoaning her Husband, hang'd among them.

In the same Year, a Quarter given by Lieutenant Colonel *Gibson* to those of the Castle of *Carrigmain*, they were all put to the Sword, being about 350, most of them Women, and Children; and Co-

lonel *Washington* endeavouring to save a pritty Child of 7 Years old, carry'd him under his Cloak, but the Child, against his Will, was kill'd in his Arms, which was a principal Motive of his quitting that Service.

1642. In *April* one *Nicholas Hart*, and 14 Labourers, going with Corn to the Market of *Dublin*, and having a Pass, were all murdered upon the Road by a Party commanded abroad by Lord *Lambart*. The same Day Mr. *Sarsfield* of *Lucan* sent his Groom to guide the Lord of *Gesil's* Troop, which the Fellow having perform'd, was knock'd on the Head for his Labour. The same Day 18 Villages in Protection, the farthest within six Miles to *Dublin*, were plundered and burned, and to the Number of 400 Men, Women, and Children, were cruelly massacred. About the same time a Party of the Garrison of *Swords*, having brought in 30 poor Labourers, forced them to dig their own Graves, and then killed them: much about that time one *Bennet*, Sheriff of the County, kill'd 16 Men, and Women, coming from the Market of *Dublin*. A Party, under the Command of Colonel *Crafford*,

Crafford, murdered 140 Women, and Children in *Newcastle*, and *Coolmain*, being under Protection. Many Thousands more of the poor innocent People of that County, shuning the Fury of the Soldiers, fled into Thickets of Firs, which the Soldiers would usually set on fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be burned, and the rest of the Inhabitants, for the most part, dyed of Famine.

Note, That no less than 12000 of the poor Inhabitants of that County were cruelly massacred the first Year of the War.

County of Kildare.

1641. Captain *Thomas Hues*, having summoned thirty three Contributors to meet him at *Hedgestowne*, caused them all to be murdered. The said *Hues* murdered Mrs. *Eustace*, Aunt to Sir *Robert Talbot*, 90 Years old, with two Gentlewomen that waited on her, after she entertained him friendly in her House. The Soldiers of *Clongow's Wood*, and *Rathcoffoy*, yielding upon Quarter, were convey'd to

Dublin, and hang'd there, and upwards of 150 Women, and Children were found in the said places murdered. It is well known, that the Commons of that County were, for the most part, destroyed, and slaughtered by the *English*, in so much, that there were not so many left living as could gather the twentyeth part of the Harvest.

County of Meath.

1642. In *April*, Mrs. *Elinor Taaffe* of *Tullaghanoge*, sixty Years old, and six Women more, were murdered by the Soldiers of the Garrison of *Trim*; and a blind Woman, aged 80 Years, was encompassed with Straw by them, to which they set Fire, and burn'd her. The same Day they hang'd two Women in *Kilbride*, and two old decrepid Men that beg'd Alms of them. In the same Year Mr. *Walter Dulin*, an old Man, unable to stir abroad many Years before the War, was kill'd in his own House by Lieutenant Colonel *Broughton's* Troopers, notwithstanding the said *Broughton's* Protection, which the old Man produced. Mr. *Walter Evers*,
a Justice

a Justice of the Peace, and Quorum, an aged Man, and Bedrid of the Palsie long before the Rebellion, was carry'd in a Cart to Trim, and there hang'd by the Governour's Orders.

Many Plowmen were kill'd at *Philbertstowne*. Forty Men, Women, and Children in Protection, reaping their Harvest in *Bonestown*, were kill'd by a Troop of the said Garrison; who upon the same Day, kill'd Mrs. *Alson Read* at *Donsaghlin*, being 89 Years old; and 40 Persons more, most of them Women and Children, shuning the Fury of the said Troop, were overtaken, and slaughter'd. About 70 Men, Women, and Children, Tenants to Mr. *Francis Mc. Ovoy*, and under Protection, were kill'd by *Greenvill's* Soldiers, and 160 more in the Parish of *Rathcoare*, whereof there was one aged Couple blind 15 Years before. Captain *Sandford*, and his Troop, murdered in and about *Mulbusshey* upwards of 100 Men, Women, and Children, under Protection, and caused one *Conor Breslan* to be stuck with a Knife into the Throat, and so bled to Death: And one *Eleonar Cusack*, 100 Years old, wae tyed about with light-
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+ ed Matches, and so tortured to Death in *Clonmoghban*. *James Dowlan*, about 100 Years old, *Donagh Comen*, *Darby Dennis*, *Roger Bolan*, and several other Labourers, and Women, to the Number of 160, making their Harvest, were slaughtered by the Garrison of *Trim*.

Mr. *Barnwell* of *Tobertinian*, and Mr. *John Hussey*, innocent Persons, were hang'd at *Trim* by old Sir *Charles Coote's* Party. *Gerrald Lynch* of *Donower*, aged 80 Years, was kill'd by Troopers of *Trim*, being in Protection. Mr. *Thomas Talbott* of *Crawlstown*, about 80 Years old, being protected, and a known Servitor to the Crown, was kill'd at his own Door by some of Captain *Morroes*'s Troop. About the Month of *April* the Soldiers under the said *Greenwill's* Command kill'd in, and about the *Navan* 80 Men, Women, and Children, who lived under Protection. Captain *Wentworth* and his Company, garrisoned at *Dumockill* kill'd no less than 200 protected Persons in the Parish of *Dona-mora*, *Slane*, and Barony of *Margellin*, and *Ovmorein*, the Town of *Ardmulchan*, *Kingstown*, and *Harriston*, all protected Persons.

Sir *Richard Greenvill's* Troop kill'd 42 Men, Women, and Children and 18 Infants at *Doramstown*. A Woman under protection was, by Captain *Murroe's* Soldiers, put into the Stock of a Tuck-mill, and so tuck'd to Death in the Town of *Steedalte*. Lieuteuant *Ponsonby* put two aged protected Persons to Death at *Downastone*, each of them about 80 Years old. Captain *Murroe* caused about an hundred protected persons, Men, Women, and Children to be put to Death in the Barony of *Dooleek*, and Lieutenant *John Tench* kill'd a protected Person, 70 Years old, near *Dooleek*. Mr. *Patrick White*, Son and Heir of Mr. *White* of *Clangill*, in protection, was taken out of his Bed, and knock'd on the Head by Lieutenant *Luaton* of the Garrison of *Trim*. Many Thousands of the poor Inhabitants of this County were destroy'd in the Firs, as those in the County of *Dublin*, and the rest, for the most part, perish'd with Famine.

County

County Westmeath.

1642. About the latter End of *March* Mr. *Christopher Mc-Gawly*, notwithstanding the Protection of the Duke of *Ormond*, was kill'd in his own House, with two of his Servants, by a party of the *English* Army marching to *Athlone*, who, laying the Protection on the said *Mc-Gawly's* Breast, shot him through his Protection, to try whether it was proof against a Bullet. Mrs. *Ellis Dillon* of *Killenennin*, having the Lords Justices protection for herself and Tenants, their Wives, and Children, were kill'd by Soldiers under Sir *Michael Earnley's* command.

County of Lowth.

1641. In the Month of *February* about 300 poor people, men, Women, and Children, were cruelly slaughtered in the Wood of *Derruer* by a party of the Garrison of *Dundalk*, and *Tredath*. About the beginning of *March* about 300 Farmers, and Labourers, never in Arms, with their Wives, and Children, were massacred

cred by a party of the Garrisons of *Dundalk*, and *Tredath* in *Redmoore* of *Braganstown*. About the same time Captain *Charles Townsly*, and Lieutenant *Faithfull Townsly*, with a part of the *English* Army, and Garrison of *Dundalk*, slaughter'd at *Dunmoghham* 220 Inhabitants of several Villages, commanded by the Officers of the said Army to live in that place for their greater security. A party of the said Garrison of *Tredath*, and *Dundalk* killed above 200 Persons in the Castle of *Reaghstown* after Quarter given. One *Anzhony Townsly* hang'd Mr. *Dromgole* of *Dromgolestown* at his own Gate. The said *Townsly* hang'd upwards of 30 poor Men, and Women, going to the Markets of *Dundalk*, and *Tredath*, on a Tree, commonly called *Eight Mile Bush*, midway between the said Towns.

1642. A party of Horse, and Foot of the Garrison of *Tredath* kill'd, and burn'd in the Firs above one Hundred and sixty Men, Women, and Children, of the Inhabitants of *Termorfeighlin*, within three Miles of *Tredath* : No less than one Thousand of the poor Inhabitants of that County, tho' they were taxed with any Mur-

ders committed on the *Protestants*, according to their own Abstract, were massacred.

County of Wicklow.

October, 1641. Three Women, whereof one Gentlewoman big with Child, and a Boy, were hang'd on the Bridge of *Neuragh* by command of Sir *Charles Coote* in his first march to that County, and caused his Guide to blow into his Pistol, and so shot him dead. He also hang'd a poor Butcher on the same march call'd *Thomas Mac William*. Mr. *Den Conyam* of *Glanely*, aged, and unable to bear Arms, was roasted to Death by Captain *Gee* of Colonel *Crafford's* Regiment: and in the Marches in 41, 42, and 43 the *English* Army kill'd all they met in this Country, tho' no Murders are charged in the said County to be committed on *Protestants* by the Abstract. In the Usurper's time Captain *Barrington*, garrison'd at *Arklow*, murdered *Donogh O Dayle* of *Killearrow*, and above 500 more, protected by himself; and it is well known that

that most of the Commonalty were murdered.

County of Kilkenny.

1641. The *English* Soldiers of the Garrison of *Ballenakil* burned an old Woman of 90 Years old in her own House in *Idough*. 1642 The said Soldiers massacred one Hundred and eighty Men, Women, and Children, who were cutting their Corn, near the said Garrison. They drag'd Mr. *Thomas Shee*, an innocent Person, out of his own House, with five of his Servants, and hang'd them all at *Ballene-kill*.

County Tipperary.

1641. On the 24th of *October* one *Browne*, and Captain *Peaseley* murdered eleven Men, Women, and Children, in their own Houses at *Golden Bridge*, before any of the *Catholics* took up Arms in that County. About the same time the said Captain *Peaseley* going through *Cloneulty*, *Philip Ryan*, a peaceable Gentleman, and owner of the said Town,

came out of his House to salute the Captain; who pull'd out his Pistol, and shot the poor harmless Gentleman dead at his own Door.

Note, That these two Murders occasioned the rising of the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County.

One *John Wise* of *Ballyowen*, an *English* Soldier, came several times in Woman's Attire upon the Road, and committed divers Murders upon simple Country People coming from the Market.

County Clare.

1644. Forty Families in Protection were murdered by the Garrison of *Inchicronan*. 1646. Several residing near *Bunratty* were murdered by the Soldiers of that Garrison under Command of Lieutenant *Adams*.

County Cork.

1641. In *Condon's* Country above 300 Labourers, Women, and Children were murdered by some of the now Earl of *Orrery's* Soldiers. In the said County, among

among others, they gelded one *Denis Downy*, and pull'd out one of his Eyes, and sent him in that Posture to his Wife. Fifty six Persons, or thereabouts, were brought Prisoners to *Castle Lyons*, (most of them Labourers, who did never bear Arms) were put into a Stable, and the Women in that Garrison, at Night, fired their Beards, and the Hair of their Heads, which so disfigured them, that their nearest Friends could not know them next Day, when they were hanging.

1642. In the same County 355 Persons, Men, Women, and Children were murdered with Clubs, and Stones, being in Protection. Mr, *Henly*, an *English* Gentleman, dwelling in *Roche's* Country, but a *Roman Catholick*, had his Wife, and Children barbarously strip'd, and most of his Tenants inhumanly murdered by adjacent *English* Garrisons, he the said *Henly*, or his Tenants, being never in Arms: And such Cruelty was used that they stab'd young Infants, and left them so half dead on their Mother's dead Carcasses. In the said *Henly's* Town, and the adjacent Villages, at that time, there were murdered

dered about 900 Labourers, Women and Children.

1643. *Cloglegh*, being garrisoned by the *Irish*, surrendered, upon Quarter of Life, to Sir *Charles Vavasor*, were all inhumanly murdered, and the Hearts of some of them pull'd out, and put into their Mouths; and many other Massacres were committed the same time there on Women and Children. At *Lifflee* 24 Men in Protection were murdered by Colonel *Mynn's* Soldiers. At *Bellauere* the same Year *Teig O Mungan*, and *David Broge*, blowing by command into Pistols, were shot to Death by some of Captain *Bridge's* Men; and eight poor Labourers more kill'd by them, being in Protection, and then employ'd in saving some Harvest of *English*.

1642. At *Clogheulty* about 238 Men, Women, and Children were murdered, of which Number seventeen Children were taken by the Legs by Soldiers, who knocked out their Brains against the Walls. This was done by *Phorbis's* Men, and the Garrison of *Bandon Bridge*. At *Garranne*, near *Rofs*, *Connor Kennedy*, who had Protection for himself and his Tennants to
save

save their Harvest, were murdered by the said Garrison of *Ross* as they were ditching about their Corn.

1641. At *Bandon Bridge*, the Garrison there tyed 88 *Irishmen* of the said Town Back to Back, and threw them off the Bridge into the River, where they were all drown'd. *Patrick Hackett*, Master of a Ship in *Waterford*; the Dutcheſs of *Ormond* being deſirous to be convey'd by him to *Dublin*, after leaving her ſafe with her Family and Goods there, the Lords Juſtices, and Duke of *Ormond* gave him a Paſs for his ſafe return, who being driven by a Storm into *Dongarvan*, the ſaid Maſter and his Men, were hang'd by Direction of the Commander in chief there, notwithstanding he produced his ſaid Paſs. The *Engliſh* Party of this County burn'd *O Sullivan Beare's* Houſe in *Bantry*, and all the reſt of that Country, killing Man, Woman, and Child, turning many into their Houſes, then on Fire, to be burned therein: And among others *Thomas De Bucke*, a Cooper, about 80 Years old, and his Wife, being little leſs; and all this was done without Provocation, the ſaid *O Sullivan* being a known

known Reliever of the *English* in that Country. Observe that this County is not charged in the late Abstract with any Murders.

County Waterford.

1641. In *Decy's* Country the neighbouring *English* Garrisons of the County of *Corke*; after burning, and pillaging all that Country, they murdered above 3000 Persons Men, Women, and Children, before any Rebellion begin in *Munster*, and led 100 Labourers Prisoners to *Caperquine*, where, being tyed by couples, were cast into the River, and made Sport to see them drown'd. Observe that this County is not charg'd with any Murders to be committed on *Protestants*.

A LETTER from a Gentleman in SCOTLAND, to his Friend at LONDON, who desir'd a particular Account of the Business of GLENCO.

Edinburgh, April 20, 1692.

S I R,

THE Account you desir'd of that strange, and surprizing Massacre of *Glenco*, take as follows.

Mac-jan Mac-donald, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mackdonalds*, one of the greatest Clans, or Tribes, in the North of *Scotland*, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to Colonel *Hill*, Governour of *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, some few Days before the expiring of the Time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which, as I

R

take

take it, was the first of *January* last, in-
treating he would administer unto him
the *Oaths*, which the foresaid Proclamation
required to be taken, that, so submitting
himself to the Government, he might
have his Protection. The Colonel receiv-
ed him with all Expressions of Kindness;
nevertheless shifted the administering the
Oaths to him; alledging, that by the Pro-
clamation it did not belong to him, but
to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and
Magistrates of *Burghs*, to administer them.
Mac-jan complaining that by this Disap-
pointment he might be wrong'd, the
Time being now near the expiring, and
the Weather so extreme, and the Ways
so very bad, that it was not possible for him
so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from
Colonel *Hill*, under his Hand, his Pro-
tection; and withal he was assur'd, that
no Orders from the Government against
him should be put in Execution, until he
first were advertis'd, and had time allow'd
him to apply himself to King, or Council
for his own Safety. But the better to
make all sure, (tho' this might have seem'd
Security enough for that time) with all
Dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*,
the

the chief Town of *Argyleshire*, where he found Sir *Collin Campbell* of *Ardkinlis*, Sheriff of the Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions requir'd. Sir *Collin* at first scrupled to admit him to the *Oaths*, the Time which the Proclamation did appoint, being elapsed by one Day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take them : But *Mac-jan* represented that it was not his Fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have administered the *Oaths* to him, and that upon his Refusal he had made such haste to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the Extremity of the Weather hinder'd him ; and even as it was, he was but one Day after the Time appointed ; and that it would be very unbecoming the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the Severity of this Usage, he administered to him, and his Attendants, the

the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to those who should take them ; and having so done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the Day of his Death.

In *January* last, a Party of the Earl of *Argyle's* Regiment came to that Country ; the Design of their coming was then suspected to be, to take Course with those who should stand out, and not submit, and take the Oaths. The Garrison of *Inverlochy* being thronged, and *Glenco* being commodious for Quartering, as being near that Garrison, those Soldiers were sent thither to quarter ; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Cels and Hearth-Money, (a Tax never known in *Scotland*, until laid on by the Parliament 1690, after the Parliament of *England* had eas'd themselves of it.) E'er they entered *Glenco*, that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies ? The Officers answer'd, as Friends ; and gave their Parole of Honour, that they would do neither him, nor his Concerns any Harm ; upon which he wellcomed them, promising

promising them the best Entertainment the place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confess. He and they lived together in mutual Kindness and Friendship fifteen Days, or thereabouts ; so far was he from fearing any hurt from them. And the very last Day of his Life he spent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till six, or seven at Night, and at their parting mutual Protestations of Kindness were renewed. Some time that very Day, but whether before, or after their Parting, I know not, Captain *Campbell* had these Orders sent him from Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.

S I R,

YOU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the Mac Donalds of Glenco, and put all to the Sword under Seventy. You are to have especial Care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do, upon no Account, escape your Hands. You are to secure all the Avenues, that no Man escape. This
you

you are to put in Execution at five o' Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, for the Good and Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put into Execution, without Feud or Favour, else you may expect to be treated, as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling thereof, as you love your self. I subscribe these with my Hand,

Robert Duncanson.

For their Majesties Service, to Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.

Duncanson had received Orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows.

Ballacholis,

Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.

S I R,

PER Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Collonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the service commanded against the Rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment under your Command are to be concern'd: You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assigned by you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by five o' Clock to Morrow Morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South side, that the Old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are that none be spared from 70, of the sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners, This is all until I see you. From

Your humble servant.

James Hamilton.

Please

Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there ; and the Boats must be all on this side the Ferry, after your Men are over.

*For their Majesties service, for
Major Robert Duncanson of the
Earl of Argyle's Regiment.*

THE soldiers being disposed five, or three in a House, according to the Number of the Family they were to assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all received as Friends by those poor People, who intending no Evil themselves, little suspected that their Guests were designed to be their Murderers. At five o' Clock in the Morning they began their bloody Work, surprized and butchered thirty eight Persons, who had kindly received them under their Roofs. *Mác-jan* himself was murder'd, and is much bemoan'd ; he was a stately well favour'd Man, and of good Courage and sense : As also the Laird *Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment, and Understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had Colonel *Hill's*

Hill's protection in his pocket, which he had got three months before. I cannot without horror represent how that a boy about eight years of age was murdered; he seeing what was done to others in the house with him, in a terrible fright run out of the house, and espying Captain Campbell, grasp'd him about the legs, crying for mercy, and offering to be his servant all his life. I am informed Captain Campbell inclined to spare him; but one Drummond, an officer, barbarously run his dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances in this tragical story, makes it appear most doleful; as that *Mac-jean* was killed as he was drawing on his breeches, standing before his bed, and giving orders to his servants for the good entertainment of those who murder'd him; while he was speaking the words, he was shot through the head, and fell dead in his Ladies arms, who through the grief of this, and other bad usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor people were killed when they were asleep, and none was al-

low'd to pray to God for mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that night was most boisterous ; so as a party of four hundred men, who should have come to the other end of the *Glen*, and begun the like work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor inhabitants should be inclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was nine o'clock, and this afforded to many an opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose houses *Campbell* and *Glenlyon's* men were quartered, otherwise *all the male under seventy years of age, to the number of two hundred had been cut off, for that was the order ;* and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the inhabitants had no arms that time ; for upon the first hearing that the *soldiers* were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed *them all out of the way :* For though they relyed on the promises which were made them for their safety ; yet they thought it not *improbable* that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty in distinguishing the difference of a few years, or to the fury of the *soldiers*, who being once *glutted* with

with *blood*, stand at nothing, that even some above seventy years of age were destroy'd. They set all the houses on fire, drove off *all the cattle* to the garrison of *Inverlochy*, viz. 900 cows, 200 horses, and a great many sheep and goats, and there they were divided amongst the officers. And how dismal may you imagine the case of the poor women and children was then ! it was *lamentable*, past expression ; their husbands and fathers, and near relations were forced to flee for their *lives* ; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their houses being burnt, and not one house nearer than six miles ; and to get thither they were to pass over mountains, and wreaths of snow, in a vehement storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished thro *hunger* and *cold*. It fills me with *horror* to think of the *poor stript children and women, some with child, and some giving suck, wrestling against a storm, in mountains and heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and dye miserably.*

You see in *Hamilton's* order to *Di u an-son*, there's a special caution, *That the*
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old

old Fox nor none of his cubs should escape ; and in *Duncanson's* order to Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, *That the old Fox nor none of his sons escape ;* but notwithstanding *all this wicked caution*, it pleased God that the two young gentlemen, *Mac-jan's* sons escaped. For it happened that the younger of these gentlemen trusted little to the fair promises of *Campbell*, and had a more watchful eye over him than his father or brother, who suffered themselves, by his reiterated oaths, to be deluded into a belief of his integrity : he having a strong impression on his spirit, that some mischievous *design* was hidden under *Campbell's* specious pretences, it made him, after the rest were in bed, remain in a retired corner, where he had an advantageous prospect into their guard. About midnight perceiving several soldiers to enter it, this increased his jealousy ; so he went and communicated his fears to his brother, who could not for a long time be persuaded there was any bad design against them, and asserted, that what he had seen, was not doubling their guards in order to any ill design, but that being in a strange place, and at a distance from the gar-
rison,

rison, they were to send out sentinels far from the guard, and because of the extremity of the weather relieved them often, and that the men he saw could be no more than these. Yet he persisting to say, that they were not so secure but that it was fit to acquaint their father with what he had seen : he prevailed with his brother to rise and go with him to his father, who lay in a room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger son alledged made no great impression on his father, yet he allowed his son to try what they could discover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themselves near to a sentinel's post, where instead of one, they discovered eight or ten men, this made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could hear one say to his fellows, *that he liked not this work, and that had he known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there, but that none, except their commanders, knew of it till within a quarter of an hour.* The soldier added, that he was willing to fight against the men of the Glen. but it was base to murder them. But to all this was answered,

ed, *All the blame be on such as gave the orders ; we are free, being bound to obey our officers.* Upon hearing of these words, the young gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could towards the house to inform their father of what they had heard ; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard guns discharged, and the people shrieking; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their father, they preserved their own lives in hopes yet to serve their king and country, and see justice done upon those *hell-hounds*, treacherous murders, the *shame* of their country, and *disgrace* of mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, there are two of these officers who had given their *parole of honour* to Mac-jan, who refused to be concerned in that *brutal tragedy*, for which they were sent *prisoners* to Glasgow, where if they remain not still, I am sure they were some weeks ago.

Thus, sir, in obedience to your commands, *I have sent you such an account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman massacre of the Laird of Glenco, and others of his clan.* You desire some
brooks

proofs of the truths of this story; for you say there are many in England who cannot believe such a thing could be done, and publick justice not executed upon the ruffians: for they take it for granted, that no such order could be given by the government; and you say, they will not believe it without a downright demonstration. Sir, as to the government, I will not meddle with it; or whether these officers who murdered Glenco, had such orders as they pretended from the government, the government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own honour, and punish the murderers who pretended their authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the matter of fact of the murder of Glenco, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as strange a thing in Scotland for any man to doubt of it, as of the death of my Lord Dundee, or with you that the Duke of Monmouth lost his head. But to put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my Lord Argyle's regiment with you in London, and there you may speak with Glenlyon himself, with Drummond and the rest of the actors of that dismal tragedy: and on my life, there
is

is never a one of them will deny it to you ; for they know it is notoriously known all over *Scotland*, and it is an admiration to us, that there should be any one in *England* who makes the least doubt of it. Nay, *Glenlyon* is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the action publickly : He said in the *Royal-Coffee-House* in *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again, nay that he would stab any man in *Scotland* or *England*, without asking the cause, if the king gave him orders, and that it was every good subject's duty so to do, and I am credibly informed, that *Glenlyon* and the rest of them have address'd themselves to the council for a reward for their good service, in destroying *Glenco*, pursuant to their orders.

There is enough of this mournful subject ; if what I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

S I R,

Your humble servant, &c.

N. B.

N. B. That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was sent, did on Thursday, June 30, 1692. when the Lord Argyle's regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this story, of the Maslacre of Glenco, from the very men who were the actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond were both there. The Highlander who told him the story expressing guilt, which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon Night and Day, and you may see him in his Face. I am told likewise, that Sir John Lowther refused to accept the Place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have Liberty to prosecute Glenlyon, and the rest of the Murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stuart (who was forfeited for Treason by K. C. 2. and since knighted by K. W.) has now the place.

T

Gallienus

Gallienus Redivivus

O R,

MURDER WILL OUT, &c.

TH E foregoing account of the barbarous *Massacre of Glenco*, was printed in the Year 1692. in the Answer to Dr. *King's Book of the State of the Protestants in Ireland*: And all the reception it met with among many here in *England*, was, that it was a *Jacobite* story, on purpose to reflect upon the Government, and that there was no such thing: but this is now confuted by the proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland*, this Summer session, 1695, wherein they have voted the killing of the *Glencomen* to be a murder; and yet have acquitted Sir *Thomas Levingston* and Colonel *Hill*, who gave the orders for killing them. Why? because their orders were pursuant to the *Instructions* they had from

from Court. *Where will this lodge the murder?* the design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon sir John Dalrymple, commonly call'd Maister of Stair, one of the secretaries for Scotland, because he is not so fiery a Presbyterian as the other Secretary, James Johnston, who hath it by inheritance to love crown and mitre alike; and to have a just reward for it. But Dalrymple is only a Libertine, or Latitudinarian, one of the modern No-Religion, who are indifferent to all, so they be troubled with none. Therefore he cares not whether Episcopacy or Presbytery, or what else is set up, provided the people be easy with it.

Now it being known to all the world, that the pretence of the inclinations of the people of Scotland, which was made the ground-work for abolishing Episcopacy, and setting up Presbytery there, was a meer sham, contriv'd by this Johnson, and the bigot Presbyterian party in Scotland; who were all put in power, in the beginning of the Revolution; and set on the barbarous rabbling of the Episcopal Clergy in the west of Scotland, that they might cry out, the inclinations of the people were

against *Episcopacy* : and having by these and other arts (which are fully related in print) pack'd, and then surpriz'd the first convention, or meeting of *Estates*, to abolish *Episcopacy* : they dare not have a new *Parliament* ^a (as in *England*) but keep on the same *Convention* (only changing the name into that of a *Parliament*) to this day : because no free *Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which would not the first day, spue out *Presbytery*, and re-establish their much more belov'd *Episcopacy*. And the people shewing great uneasiness under their present establishment (which hath been trick'd and forc'd upon them.) All the craft and violence of the regnant *Presbytery*, assisted by *Acts of Parliament*, and all the countenance of *Government*, having not yet been able to outoust the *Episcopal Clergy* in the *North*, and other parts of *Scotland*, or prevail with the people to admit of, or almost give civil treatment to the *Presbyterian Ministers* sent to them, tho' established by law. The *Presbyterian* interest standing there upon so slender a bottom, their *Juncto* think it not safe to have a man of *Dalrymple's latitude*

^a See *Querela Temporum*, p. 8. and 9.

titute in religion, in so eminent a post, and near their king; lest he should follow the *inclinations of the people*, in good earnest, and call a new *Parliament* there, which would ruin all their measures: therefore ways and means must be used to remove him, and leave *Johnston* and the *Presbyterian faction* in the sole possession of the *Court*. At length this of *Glenco* was pitched upon; which was so odious, they knew their *King* durst not own it: therefore they would throw it upon *Dalrymple*, who was *secretary*, and attended when the *Instructions* were sent for the *bloody murder*. And thereby too, they would seem to take off the *odium* from their *King*: This was their pretence; and they had proof enough against *Dalrymple*: but how that clear'd his *master* will be seen.

They produced nine letters of *Dalrymple's* (of which I have copies) concerning the *Massacre of Glenco*. And I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter; I will now set down their several *dates* and *directions*, and quote them to save repetition, only by their number, Lette i. ii. iii. &c. the two first are directed to Lieut. Col. *Hamilton*, and bear date, on the 1st,
and

and the other the 3d *Decemb.* 1691. the four next are to sir *Thomas Levingston* of these several dates, 7, 9, 11 and 16 of *Jan.* 1692, then follow two more to Col. *Hill*, of the 16th and 30th of the same month, and lastly, one of the 30th ditto, to sir *Thomas Levingston*. It seems very strange that K. *W.* would suffer these Letters to be expos'd to the Parliament in *Scotland*, being most of them wrote by his order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the execution of instructions, sent with them for the *Massacre of Glenco*. And the regard which his dear *Presbyterians*, and his favourite *Johnston*, in particular, had to his honour, was very slender, when, to compass their ends, they load him so foully, that they might load *Dalrymple* too. *Johnston* says no, but that he *foreseeing* (because some say of his own *contriving*) that the *Parliament*, who are most of them his *Creatures* (to their honour be it spoken) would fall upon the business of *Glenco*; and that they must be, at least seemingly gratified in it, otherwise, that it might obstruct the *Money-bills*, did therefore advise his master to send down a *Commission* to men of his own chusing, to enquire into the af-
fair

fair of *Glenco* ; but withal to give secret instructions to his *Commissioner*, to keep up the said *Commission*, unless the *Parliament* should enter upon that business : and if they did, then to produce the said *Commission*, to shew his Majesty's *innocence*, by his care to have it examin'd ; and withal, it would take the examination of it out of the hands of the Parliament Committees, who might not manage *so dextrously as those of his own naming*.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary orders given, it is vilely suspected that *Johnston* procured the matter to be started in Parliament, whereby, at once to get rid of his *rival secretary*, and root up the interest of any, who had but an indifferency towards *Episcopaey*, at Court tho' to the utter shipwreck of his Master's honour, to be recorded for all *posterities* (as if it were inseparable from some constitutions to betray those they serve, even tho' they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them.) For considering the influence *Johnston* had in that Parliament, and that they never yet oppos'd his will in any thing ; and that he has been able to suppress the least murmur or hint, that
looked

looked towards *Glencoe*, when the Fact was new committed, and the *Horror* of it fresh and bleeding ; and now for three years after : I say, it is not supposed by Men who understand that Parliament, that it could have been brought upon the stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the hand of *Joab* had not been in it ; but let him look to that ---- I have only to add, as a completion of the foregoing *Narrative*, that I can from unquestionable vouchers, give the reader an account of the orders from court to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Col. *Hill*, which are not in the Letter that goes before ; and when the Reader is told that *Hamilton* (whose order to *Duncanson* is inserted) and his order from *Levingston*, and *Hill* ; then he has the whole thread, viz. *W. R's* order to *Levingston* and *Hill* ; *Levingston* and *Hill* to *Hamilton* ; *Hamilton* to *Duncanson* ; and *Duncanson* to *Glenlyon*, who was the *butcher*.

You find in the *Gazettes*, two sets of *Instructions*, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th Jan. 1691-2. and I will give you an account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly order FIRE and SWORD,
[these

[these were the words] against all the *Highland-Clans*, who had not taken the *Oaths*. After they were sent away, my lord *Carmarthen* (now *Leeds*) being told of it, by *Dalrymple* (as I am informed) did represent it to *K. W.* as a thing so unknown in these countries, which was governed by laws, that *fire* and *sword* would sound very harshly ; no such words having ever been heard from any of our *native kings*. This procured the mitigation of that order by the *instructions* of the 16th, which poured all the *thunder* upon *Glenco* ; because *some sacrifice must be made* ! what concern'd *Glenco* was in the 4th of these *Instructions*, and is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

As for Mac-jan of Glenco, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders ; it will be proper for the vindication of publick Justice, to extirpate that set of thieves. W. R.

This was directed to sir *Thomas Levingston*, and *Col. Hill*. And the *Parliament* has voted that *Levingston* or *Hill's* orders did not exceed these *Instructions* ; nor indeed could they : for what can ex-

ceed *extirpation* ! and that to be executed at the *discretion* of *soldiers* ! as it is worded in the *secretary's* Letter to *sir Thomas Levingston*.^b I am confident (says he) you will see there are full powers given to you in very plain terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion.

Take notice that the *instructions* are counter sign'd *W. R.* at bottom as well as top, which is not usual : for it is the *secretary's* office to counter sign the *King's* orders, and the reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the *secretary* must be answerable. Therefore *Dalrymple* had reason to wave that ceremony, in this instance, and let his master take all the glory to himself. And lest this should not be sufficiently taken notice of; and that he might have a voucher, when time comes, he took care to inform *sir Thomas Levingston* punctually of it, in the same Letter which enclosed the first most bloody *instructions*, of the 11th of *Jan.* 1691-2, for an *universal massacre* of ALL who had not taken the oaths. And begins in these words: *c* *sir*, I send you the *King's* *instructions* super and subscrib'd by himself--And to shew how

how pleasing a thing *mercy* was to them, and with what reluctance they prosecuted those who had taken the *oaths*, he says in the same Letter ; *just now Argyle tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the oaths, at which I rejoyce. It's a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect.* And to shew how great this *charity* was, and whence it proceeded, the wise *secretary* blurrs out these words ; *I have no great kindness for Keappoch, nor Glenco, and it's well these people are in mercy.* Well indeed ! they were in *merciful* hands ! who can say they ought not to die, for whom such a *secretary* hath no *great kindness* ! but who are they must die ? ALL ! ALL ! *man, woman, and child* ! massacre the men, and drive the women and children to perish more cruelly in the mountains. To which purpose, that extreme *cold season* was chosen for the execution. *d The winter is the only season (says the secratary) in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle to the mountains. e It's the only time that they cannot escape you ; for human constitution cannot*

U 2

endure

* Letter i.

• Letter ii.

endure to be long out of houses---This is the proper season to maul them in the cold long nights. This was express'd with the gusto of a Vulture, in expectation of a glorious massacre ! and then how easy it would be ! i I expect (says he) you will find little resistance but from the season. And then what thorough work they could make ! g To destroy entirely the country of Lochabar, Lochells, Lauds, Keappoch's Glengaries, Appin, and Glenco. Here was a plentiful feast provided ! it was a ravishing prospect !

But O ! how these *lyons* were enraged when any of their desired prey was delivered out of their jaws. It was in a mournful strain the secretary tells the sad news. ^h *We have an account, (says he) that Lochart, and Mac-naghton, Appin, and Glenco took the benefit of the indemnity at Inverary ; and Keappoch, and others at Inverness : But after this when Argyle told him that Glenco had not taken the oaths ; how did he rejoyce ! as above quoted. i I am glad (says he) that Glenco did not come within the time prescrib'd. k I am content that C L A N except it self.*

^f Let. iv. ^g Let. iii. ^h Let. iv. ⁱ Let. ix. ^k Let. i.

itself. ¹ For my part, I could have wish'd the Mac-donalds had not divided, that is, that they had all excluded themselves from mercy, and I am sorry that Keap-poch, and Mac-jan of Glenco are safe. But it seems they were not safe. Some must be made a sacrifice; and Glenco was pick'd upon for the victim. And the implacable fury which was shewn against that Clan, expressed the rage they felt, that so many had escaped them. And therefore that Clan was to be destroyed entirely. ^m I assure you, says the secretary to his officers, your power shall be enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners. ⁿ For a just example of vengeance, I intreat, that the thieving tribe in Glenco may be rooted out in earnest. I shall entreat you, that for a just vengeance, and publick example, the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose. The Earl of Argyle has promised they shall have no retreat in his bounds, the passes to Rannach would be secured, and the hazard certified to the laird of--- to retreat: then in that case Argyle's detachment, with a party that may be posted in

¹ Let. iv. ^m Let. iii. ⁿ Let. vi. ^{*} Let. vii.

in Island Stalker, must cut them off. ° Pray when any thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who are fallen in the mercy of the law. ° I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prescribed. I hope what is done there, may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to herry their cattle, or burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours : but I believe you will be satisfied it were great advantage to the nation, that that thieving tribe were rooted out, and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the men and their cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Keappoch well, to assist the garrison to do all ON A SUDDEN. Was ever so greedy a hunt after the lives of a company of secure and unarm'd people, who slept fearless, and suspecting no danger, under the protection of those who were thus contriving to massacre them, in the most Savage and Treacherous manner.

The

The secretary tells Col. *Hill*, that *the oaths are indispensable*. This was a fearful method of imposing the oaths upon these *Highlanders*, that none must live who would not take them ! but were all admitted to take them ? one would think so ; when they were made *indispensable*. Yet notwithstanding, in that same letter he gives these directions to Col. *Hill*. “ Till we see what is done by the *Chiefs*, it is not time to receive their tenants, or admitting them to take the oaths or hoping for pardon, till they give evidence that they are willing to pay their rents to you, and to take tax for their former duties ; who will not do so, and were in the rebellion, must feel the dismal consequences of it.”

Thus *Naboth's* vineyard made him a blasphemer ! if the tenants would betray the rights of their landlords to attorn and pay the rents to the secretary, or his governor, then, and not otherwise, they should be admitted to take the oaths : and yet they must not live, if they did not take the oaths : but *Glenco* took the oaths, yet that sav'd not his *life*, nor his *clan*.

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It

It were reasonable here to presume that K. W. did not know that they had taken the oaths. *First*, if it had been so. This manner of *massacre in cold blood* had been a *cruelty*, without a precedent. *Secondly*, It was taking advantage of the time, with the greatest rigour. For the time limited by the indemnity, expired but the 1st of *January 1691-2*. And the Instructions for a general *Massacre* were dated the 11th of the same month at *London*, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the Oaths or not. But *Thirdly*, Here is no room left to surmise that K. W. did not know it ; because Secretary *Dalrymple*, in his letter to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, before quoted, which is dated at *London* the 9th of *January 1691-2*, tells him (p) That they had an account that *Glencoe* had taken the Oaths at *Inverary* ; which was the place where he did take them, as is told in the foregoing narrative. And he tells Sir *Thomas*, in the same letter, “ I
“ have been with the King. He says your
“ Instructions shall be dispatch’d on
“ *Monday*.” And they were so. For
that

that *Monday* was the 11th of *January* 1691-2, which day the instructions do bare date. And this letter of the secretary's was dated the 9th of *Jan.* 1691-2. which was the *Saturday* before. And then tells sir *Thomas* that he had the account of *Glenco's* having taken the oaths with several others; that he had been with the king concerning it, and instructions should be sent, &c. 'Tis true, his letter of the 11th, which went with the instructions, says, ^a That *Argyle* told him *Glenco* had not taken the oaths before that time, according to the account which the secretary own'd was sent to him, and *Argyle* was an enemy to *Glenco*, as appears by what is quoted out of the Letter 7. But this saying of *Argyle* to the secretary in *London*, could not be of *Argyle's* own knowledge. And one would think that the secretary of state should have as good intelligence as he.

But, to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a *doubt*; and to suspend his further resolution, till he might have the certainty from *Scotland*; but they did not stay for this; for the

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particular instructions to massacre *Glenco*, bore date the 16th of *Jan.* 1691-2. betwixt which time and the 11th, when *Argyle* told the secretary as above, they could not send to *Scotland*, and have an answer back. Now these instructions of the 16th were no way conditional ; to cut off *Glenco* if he had not taken the oaths ; but positive, and without more ado. When it is certain that *K. W.* must at least, *doubt* whether he had taken the oaths, or not ; but it is apparent that *Col. Hill*, who had given *Glenco* his protection, and to whom *Glenco* came to take the oaths, I say it is certain that he, and the other officers there upon the place, knew very well that *Glenco* had taken the oaths and submitted to the government. Those officers whom he received into his house, and quartered their soldiers among his tenants, upon his laying down his arms ; these must know that he had *submitted*. But if notwithstanding they must obey their orders (as they did) if it be not permitted to officers, so much as *rescribere*, to acquaint the king with any mistake that may be in his orders ; but to execute them blindfold, and without asking

ing questions, then let me lie out of the reach of a soldier.

The reader must likewise know, that none of these foresaid instructions were communicated to the privy-council of *Scotland*; to whom by the constitution of that kingdom, and continual custom, all the king's orders are directed. They knew nothing of this matter, it was contriv'd to be carry'd in such a manner, as not to be prevented. And when *Gallienus's* thirst of blood is once satisfy'd, then let *slaves grumble* and make inquiry! we know how to manage them. *Johnston* hath undertaken it; nay he hath done it. *Done it!* more effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, imagin'd, in these nations before the happy Revolution: for here is a precedent made, and that by *P---t*, That the king may send his guards, and cut any man's throat in the nation in cold blood; nay he may massacre the whole *P--t*, as they are there sitting, by the rule that they have given; that is, to acquit *Levingston and Hill*; and to justify them for pursuing the king's orders to massacre a whole Clan, which is no more just, or law, than to massacre a *P---t*.

Let us banter the world, or our selves no more with liberty and laws! and when P---ts can be brought to approve and justify all this---Well! *Johnston*! Thou hast manag'd nobly. Thou art fit to serve a Monarch! but not unless you bring your Monarch cleverly off in this business; for what if you can place it upon *Dalrymlpe*; and if *Dalrymple* should be hang'd for daring to send such an order, tho' he refused to counter-sign it, what will become of *him*, who both sign'd it, and counter-sign'd it, and commanded it to be sent.

*If the man such praises have,
What must he employs the K---?*

Why! did his master never enquire into the matter before? never before the Parliament clamour'd! and what was the meaning of a commission to examine into what himself had ordered-----But *Mes James*!---And have you ev'n brought your *Master* into this noose! what can you expect from him, but to be *Glen Ce'd* for your pains? *Qui Glencoat Glen-coabitur*---You have brought all his sins to remembrance. The *Dewitting* in *Holland* was almost forgot---You have pret-

ty good experience of his temper, or you may have. But if he suffer you to live to see another *Revolution*, you may plead *merit* : for all his enemies have not render'd him so *black* ; so effectually *prov'd*, and *demonstrated it to the world*, as your *management has done*. *He is happy in his Ministers !* at least very justly serv'd by them !

He wants but a good *historian*, that he may not lose his character to after ages. And *secretary*, you cannot do better than to recommend your uncle to that office. *He'll do it deliciously* ; he'll neither find or make *parallels* to him out of *antient histories* (for he'll find none among the *moderns*, especially in these *countries*) and make him (*I'll warrant you*) excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present case so exactly, *that you would think one was copied out from the other*, and it is as follows.

“ Gallienus, *ut erat nequam & perditus ; ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset,*
 “ *velox furibundus, ferus, vehemens, crudelis---In omnes mesiacos tam milites*
 “ *quam cives asperrime seviit : nec quem-*
 “ *quam*

“ *quam suæ crudelitatis exortem reliquit :*
 “ *usque adeo Asper & Truculentus ut*
 “ *plerasq; civitates vacuas a virilii sexu*
 “ *reliquerit.*

“ *Extat sane epistola Gallieni quam ad*
 “ *Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus Ni-*
 “ *mietas crudelitatis ostenditur : quam*
 “ *ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intellige-*
 “ *rent, hominem luxuriosum crudelissi-*
 “ *mum esse si necessitas postulet.*

Gallienus Veriano. *Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum Armatos trucideris, quos & sors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si & senes atq; Impubes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunq; malevoluit. Occidenus est quicunq; maledixit contra me, contra valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem & fratrem, ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacera, Occide, Concede: animum meum intelligere potes, mea mentē irascere qui hæc manu mea scripsi. Trebell. Pollion. Trigint. Tyran. de Ingenuo.*

This is the description of Gallienus, a cruel, and a bloody tyrant : and here is the copy of some instructions he sent to Verianus, an officer of his, about just such another massacre as Glenco, which he wrote

wrote, or *sign'd* with his own hand : Wherein he commands him, *to put all to the sword, all that durst speak or think against him as well old as young*, he bid him *plunder, kill, tear* ; and that it would not please him if he kill'd only those in *arms* against him, *but all of the masculine sex.*

Here was a great deal of do, and many words about it ! but our *milder order* bid only *extirpate*, and that not this or that body, or making distinctions of *old* or *young, men or women*--What need *all that cookery* ! but only *the whole Tribe : that was all* ! he scorn'd to *except* the pitiful *women*, as *Gallienus* did. What need *they be excepted* ? why ! *he excepted nobody* ! *short work's best*---and few words ---And as the *answer to Great Britain's just complaint*, publish'd by authority, 1692. Says, p. 37. in vindication of W.R. as to this of *Glenco*. *A milder order was never given.* And he says that his Majesty *has express'd a high displeasure at it.* It was *high* indeed ; for we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see : for all the officers who *commanded*, or who *executed* it, are still
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in their respective posts, unless advanc'd. Nor have we heard that so much as an *ill word* has been said by him to any one of them.

But this we know, by that answer to *Great Britain's just complaint*, that *W.R.* cannot plead ignorance, that there was a great clamour about the massacre of *Glen-co*, *three years ago* : and that he has taken no notice of it all this time ; nor *now*, till it was first started in *Parliament*, and that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the hands of the *Parliament*, and by all his might and main, to stifle, or at least to baffle it. And that it has been baffled. And this *horrible addition is thereby made to the guilt of that murder* : that whereas *none* were answerable for it before, except only *Gallienus* and his *Verianuses*, with their accomplices, it is now become a *national guilt* (so far as the *Parliament* are the representatives of the people) by the *Parliament's* making *Galienus's* instructions sufficient to justify *Vereanus* in his execution of them. Whereby they justify the whole *murder*, and bring it upon their own heads, and upon the heads of their children.

dren. For if *Gallienus* had no power by *Law*, to send such *Instructions*, they could be no *Justification* to *Verianus*: but now that *Parliament* has voted that such *Instructions* are a *Justification* of *Verianus*; and therefore they have yielded that *Gallienus* has by a *Law*, a power to send such *Instructions*; and that they ought to be obey'd. And then, *Lord have mercy upon us!*

But to bring our story to an end, there is one noble stroke of *secretary Johnston's* behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his master clean, from all *imputation* of the *massacre* of *Glenco*; and that is, he has persuaded Lieutenant Col. *Hamilton* (whose order to *Duncanson* is in the afore-said Narrative) to *abscond* for some time; and then to slip over to *K. W.* in *Flanders*; which he has done. This shews as if he were more guilty than the rest. He is made the scape-goat, and all this sin is laid upon his head. But if *Hill* gave his orders to his Lieutenant Col. *Hamilton* (which he avers in his order to *Duncanson*) why was it more criminal in *Hamilton* to hand down his Colonel's orders to the next subaltern?

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And why must *Glenlyon*, and the others who actually committed that horrid *masacre*, and are now in their respective commands in *Flanders*, why should these be excused?

O! no! they are not excused, for as in the Gazette 18th *July* 1695, the Parliament in *Scotland* has made a fierce vote against them, *That his Majesty be addresed to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, or not?* as his Majesty shall think fit,---OR NOT! this is as civil as heart could wish! And whether this *Address* was sent, or not; whether it was trusted to *secretary Johnston* to send it, or not, is all one; for instead of sending them home to be tryed, *Hamilton* is sent to them: And in justice we are to suppose that due care will be taken, that in this campaign, they shall either be killed, taken, or desert. And then if we had them again, how we would hang the Rogues.

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F I N I S.